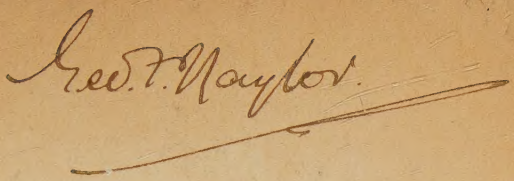
SANCTVS
SANCTVS
SANCTVS



The Oxford Library of Practical Theology

EDITED BY THE

REV. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A.

CANON AND CHANCELLOR OF S. PAUL'S

AND THE

REV. DARWELL STONE, M.A.

LIBRARIAN OF PUSEY HOUSE, OXFORD

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023

https://archive.org/details/bwb_KS-496-935

THE HOLY COMMUNION

BY

DARWELL STONE, M.A.

Pusey Librarian; formerly Principal of

Dorchester Missionary College

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 Paternoster Row, London

New York and Bombay

1904

All rights reserved

EDITORS' PREFACE

The object of the Oxford Library of Practical Theology is to supply some carefully considered teaching on matters of Religion to that large body of devout laymen who desire instruction, but are not attracted by the learned treatises which appeal to the theologian. One of the needs of the time would seem to be, to translate the solid theological learning, of which there is no lack, into the vernacular of everyday practical religion; and while steering a course between what is called plain teaching on the one hand and erudition on the other, to supply some sound and readable instruction to those who require it, on the subjects included under the common title 'The Christian Religion,' that they may be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them, with meekness and fear.

The Editors, while not holding themselves pre-

cluded from suggesting criticisms, have regarded their proper task as that of editing, and accordingly they have not interfered with the responsibility of each writer for his treatment of his own subject.

W. C. E. N.
D. S

PREFATORY NOTE

This book is an attempt to supply such an account of the doctrine and administration of the Holy Communion as may be of use to Churchmen in general, and perhaps also to some others who are seeking to know what the teaching and methods of the Church are. The purpose of the book and the limits of space alike have precluded the detailed discussion of very many matters as to which there has been disagreement or controversy. Similar reasons have also necessarily restricted the extent to which references could be given. But the writer has tried to give such references as will enable readers to test his statements when they wish to do so, and as may be a help to further study on the part of those who have opportunity.

During the last three years the author has contributed to the *Church Quarterly Review* a series of nine articles on the history of the doctrine of the

Eucharist. The treatment adopted was mostly much more elaborate and detailed than that in this book; but he has to thank the editor of the *Review*, as for other kindness, so also for allowing him to use the materials, and sometimes to reproduce the language, of the articles in the chapters on the subjects with which they dealt.

The book has gained from the generosity of the author's friend, the Rev. C. O. Becker, Vicar of the Church of S. Botolph, Aldersgate, who read it before it was in print and made valuable suggestions.

D. S.

January, 1904.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE EUCHARIST AND HUMAN LIFE	1
II.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE NEW TESTAMENT	10
III.	THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST	20
IV.	THE PATRISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST	36
V.	THE PATRISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE	58
VI.	THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRESENCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES	71
VII.	THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES	97
VIII.	THE REFORMATION CONTROVERSIES ABROAD	117
IX.	THE REFORMATION CONTROVERSIES IN ENGLAND	133
X.	THE COMPLETION OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND	168
XI.	THE EUCHARIST IN POST-REFORMATION THEOLOGY	181
XII.	THE NECESSITY OF COMMUNION AND THE COMMUNION OF INFANTS	188
XIII.	THE MATTER AND FORM AND MINISTER OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST	201
XIV.	EUCHARISTIC PRACTICE AND CEREMONIAL	233

CHAP. PAGE

XV. THE EUCHARIST IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND LIFE . 280

NOTES 289

INDEX OF SUBJECTS 305

INDEX OF PASSAGES IN HOLY SCRIPTURE REFERRED TO 307

INDEX OF AUTHORS, COUNCILS, AND BOOKS REFERRED TO 310

THE HOLY COMMUNION

CHAPTER I

THE EUCHARIST AND HUMAN LIFE

Union with God is the highest ideal of human thought and the highest aim of human life. To attain to it has been the ambition of man at widely separated stages of history and in the most divergent forms of moral development. The religion of nature, the theology of revelation, systems of philosophy, and dreams of poets have alike pleaded that herein is sought man's chief good. And indeed any worthy view of God and of man implies at least a desire that they be united with one another.

Of late years the study of comparative religion has shed much light on many types of worship and devotion. The well-known fact that most religions have a sacrificial element and that sacrifices often culminate in a common and sacred meal has been freshly illustrated and more completely explained. It has now been realised that, whatever thoughts of expiation may have been included, the dominant desire in heathen sacrifice as a whole has been for union with the deity. This desire may often have

rested on low motives; and it certainly has been associated in many cases with what was cruel and degrading. It has found utterance in all kinds of shapes, of which the sacrificial meal of a sacred animal and the eating of an idol made of dough may be taken as representative. 'Communication and communion with spiritual beings' has been the most persistent aspect in the idea of sacrifice. 'It is as god, not as animal,' writes Dr. Jevons, 'that the totem[1] furnishes the sacrificial meal.' From the earliest days, says the same writer, 'the sacrificial and sacramental meal' 'has been the centre of all religion' and 'a moment in which the consciousness has been present to man of communion with the god of his prayers'; and this meal has 'required, for the annual renewal of the blood-covenant, that the worshipper should partake of the body and blood of the victim.'[2] 'The custom of eating bread sacramentally as the body of a god,' writes Dr. Frazer, 'was practised by the Aztecs before the discovery and conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. Twice a year, in May and December, an image of the great Mexican god Huitzilopochtli or Vitzilipuztli was made of dough, then broken in pieces, and solemnly eaten by his worshippers.' Of those who received the fragments of this image it is said that 'they did eat the flesh and

[1] *i.e.* a beast, or bird, or plant connected with a tribe or clan, and regarded as supernatural or divine.

[2] Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 152, 154, 285.

bones of God.'[1] The students of early and savage religions have discovered instances of this desire for communion with deity in all quarters; and the prevalence of it bears emphatic testimony to the truth of the fact which S. Augustine noted as the restlessness of the human heart until it rests in God.[2]

This same desire may be traced through various stages of the development of Greek thought and life. The legends of the gods often express longings for divine presence on earth and the gifts of divine life to men. Even in their more repulsive forms they show a sense of kinship between man and God and a yearning for union. A different expression of similar convictions was made in the mysteries, of which the most important were those celebrated at Eleusis near Athens. Participation in these was described as a means of life, not only for this world, but also for that which is beyond.[3] That which was central in them was communion with deity. The preparatory elements of purification and propitiation led up to the symbolic meal in which the worshipper held converse with deity and the mystic drama which has been well described as 'the poetry of the hope of a world to come' wherein 'there was an awful individuality.' 'They

[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. 337, 340 (second edition).

[2] S. Augustine, *Confessions*, i. 1, 'Thou, Lord, hast made us for Thyself, and therefore our hearts are restless until they rest in Thee.'

[3] See, *e.g.*, Sophocles, *Fragments*, 719 (Dindorf's edition), 'Thrice happy are those mortals who go to the world below having taken part in these mysteries: to them alone is life there, to the rest all is misery.'

saw the sight in common, but they saw it each man for himself. It was his personal communion with the divine life.'[1] The fundamental idea of the pantheistic systems of philosophy was the craving for union with the absolute Being of which the intellect and will and feelings of men were regarded as but parts. And Plato in his old age at the end of a life of transcendent genius spent in pondering on the problems and meaning of human existence could write, 'This is the conclusion, which is also the noblest and truest of all sayings,—that for the good man to offer sacrifice to the gods, and hold converse with them by means of prayers and offerings and every kind of service, is the noblest and best of all things, and also the most conducive to a happy life, and very fit and meet.'[2]

Nor has this yearning for communion with God been found only in savage religions and ancient philosophies. It has supplied a note in modern poetry and scientific thought. Side by side with much which runs counter to it as presuming or unwarranted or unnecessary, there have been emphatic expressions of its reality and force. To the most profound thinker among the English poets of the nineteenth century, the idea of the fellowship of man with God supplied the inspiration of some of his

[1] Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (*Hibbert Lectures* for 1888), pp. 289, 290.

[2] Plato, *Laws*, iv. 716 D.

finest verse.[1] And if the poet rests more on feeling than on the other elements of thought, there have not been wanting men of science in the same century to whom the religion which finds its centre in the personal union of God and man has made a dominant claim. So distinguished a physician as Sir Russell Reynolds and so eminent a surgeon as Sir James Paget have not been alone in seeing in it intellectual satisfaction and an 'appeal' and 'demand' 'for the whole man.'[2]

Thus, the Christian religion affords the answer to questions and search which extend very widely and go very deep in human thought. For it there had been the special preparation of the Jewish system and theology. The idea of sacrifice contained in the Old Testament differs from that most usually found in other religions in its most prominent aspect being propitiation not communion. The stress laid in the revelation to the Jews on the holiness of God and on the need of moral service in those who worshipped Him made it natural that the sense of sin would call for propitiation, and fitting that the divine teaching should emphasise this view of sacrifice. But the aspect of communion with God is not lacking in the sacrifices; and the need of it is strongly marked elsewhere. In the case of the sacrifices, the sacred

[1] R. Browning. See, *e.g.*, *An Epistle concerning the strange medical experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician: Saul*, xviii.

[2] J. Russell Reynolds, *Essays and Addresses*, pp. 180-193; *Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget*, p. 423.

meal was in some instances closely connected with the offering,[1] the altar of propitiation is spoken of by the prophets as being also the table of communion :[2] and a very remarkable phrase in the Law describes the sacrifice as the bread of God.[3] One object of the establishment of the Mosaic system was that there might be a place of meeting between man and God, a place in which God would dwell.[4] In type and prophecy there was the anticipation of the Incarnate life of God on earth which was fulfilled in our Lord Jesus Christ.[5] In type and prophecy there were the foreshadowings of a mystic food whereby God would bestow His gifts on His people.[6]

In the Incarnation itself is the personal union of manhood with Godhead. The Eternal Son of God, Himself truly God, of one essence with the Father, took human nature of the Blessed Virgin Mary and became perfectly Man. In this closest of all possible unions, in which the two natures of God and Man were united in the one Divine Person of the Eternal Word, was the central satisfaction of the aspirations of mankind and the central fulfilment of that which in

[1] See, *e.g.*, Lev. vii. 15-21.

[2] Ezek. xli. 22, xliv. 16 ; Mal. i. 7, 12.

[3] Lev. xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22, xxii. 25 ; Num. xxviii. 2 : cf. Lev. iii. 11, 16.

[4] See Ex. xxix. 43-46.

[5] See Stone, *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, pp. 50, 51.

[6] See Plummer in Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 145 ; and a valuable devotional treatment of the subject in Heygate, *The Eucharist : on its types, and other like subjects.*

many ways the Old Testament had foretold. 'God,' says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son.'[1] But the Incarnation itself would have failed in its purpose unless provision had been made for its direct influence on mankind. The central fact of the New Testament, that our Lord Jesus Christ is truly God and perfectly Man, leads on to truths which are dependent on and derived from it, of which one is the assertion of the union of Christians with Christ and through Him with the Father and the Holy Trinity. 'I live,' wrote S. Paul, 'and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me.'[2] 'Through Him,' said the same Apostle, 'we both,' Jews and Gentiles, 'have our access in one spirit unto the Father.'[3] 'He hath granted unto us,' wrote S. Peter, 'His precious and exceeding great promises, that through these ye may become partakers of the divine nature.'[4]

The New Testament represents the Sacraments as the means whereby this living union with our Lord is accomplished in Christians and the Incarnation made fruitful for individuals. 'Are ye ignorant,' wrote S. Paul, 'that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into His death?' 'We were buried therefore with Him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the

[1] Heb. i. 1. [2] Gal. ii. 20. [3] Eph. ii. 18. [4] 2 S. Pet. i. 4.

glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with Him by the likeness of His death, we shall be also by the likeness of His resurrection';[1] 'In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body';[2] 'Ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof';[3] 'As many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ';[4] 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? Seeing that we, who are many, are one bread, one body: for we all partake of the one bread.'[5]

So it is that the Incarnation and the Atonement, Baptism and the Eucharist, are God's answer to man's pleading for communion with Him. And this aspect of the Holy Communion may well be illustrated by words in which the results of an elaborate study of the history of religion have been summed up:

'Sacrifice and the sacramental meal which followed on it are institutions which are or have been universal. The sacramental meal, wherever it exists, testifies to man's desire for the closest union with his god, and to his consciousness of the fact that it is upon such union alone that right social relations with his fellow-man can be set. But before there can be a sacramental meal there must be a sacrifice. That is to say, the whole human race for thousands of years has been

[1] Rom. vi. 3-5. [2] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [3] 1 Cor. xii. 27.
[4] Gal. iii. 27. [5] 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

educated to the conception that it was only through a divine sacrifice that perfect union with God was possible for man. At times the sacramental conception of sacrifice appeared to be about to degenerate entirely into the gift theory; but then, in the sixth century B.C., the sacramental conception woke into new life, this time in the form of a search for a perfect sacrifice — a search which led Clement and Cyprian to try all the mysteries of Greece in vain. But of all the great religions of the world it is the Christian Church alone which is so far heir of all the ages as to fulfil the dumb, dim expectation of mankind: in it alone the Sacramental meal commemorates by ordinance of its Founder the Divine Sacrifice which is a propitiation for the sins of all mankind.'[1]

[1] Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 414, 415.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EUCHARIST IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

At the time of the institution of the Holy Eucharist there would be nothing strange to the minds of the Apostles in a close connection between a sacred meal and the communion of the soul with God. Their knowledge as Jews and their training by our Lord would alike tend to make such a thought familiar. In the mystic incident of Melchizedek that 'priest of God Most High' 'brought forth bread and wine.'[1] Under the Mosaic Law the use of food had spiritual significance. The central point in the keeping of the Passover was the eating of the lamb.[2] At the ratifying of the covenant which the Lord made with Israel, 'Moses and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders' 'beheld God, and did eat and drink.'[3] Flesh, fine flour, and wine were used as offerings, being in part burned or poured out before the Lord and in part consumed by the priests and the

[1] Gen. xiv. 18. [2] Ex. xii. [3] Ex. xxiv. 1-11.

worshippers.[1] It was foretold by Isaiah that 'the Lord of hosts' should 'make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.'[2] The 'Wisdom' described in the book of Proverbs invites men to a meal of bread and wine:

> Wisdom hath builded her house,
> She hath hewn out her seven pillars:
> She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine;
> She hath also furnished her table.
> She hath sent forth her maidens, she crieth
> Upon the highest places of the city,
> Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither:
> As for him that is void of understanding, she saith to him,
> Come, eat ye of my bread,
> And drink of the wine which I have mingled.[3]

So also in the Book of Ecclesiasticus 'Wisdom' declares,

> Come unto me, all ye that be desirous of me,
> And fill yourselves with my fruits.
> For my memorial is sweeter than honey,
> And mine inheritance than the honeycomb.
> They that eat me shall yet be hungry,
> And they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.[4]

In the teaching given during His ministry our Lord built on this foundation of Jewish practice and thought. Sitting down to meat and partaking of a feast were parts of that imagery of the kingdom of God in which its present state in the Christian Church and

[1] See a very careful treatment of the details in Willis, *The Worship of the Old Covenant.*

[2] Isa. xxv. 6. [3] Prov. ix. 1-5. [4] Ecclus. xxiv. 19-21.

its future glory in heaven were intermingled.[1] To the woman of Samaria our Lord spoke of the 'living water' which He would give, which would 'become' 'a well of water springing up unto eternal life.'[2] To the Jews He said when speaking of the gift of the Holy Ghost, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink.'[3] In the discourse at Capernaum He described Himself as bread, and referred to eating His flesh and drinking His blood as means of communion with Him. 'I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread that cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die. I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: yea and the bread which I will give is My flesh, for the life of the world.' 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live because of the Father; so he that eateth Me, he also shall live because of Me. This is the

[1] S. Matt. viii. 11, xxii. 1-14, xxv. 1-13; S. Luke xiv. 15-24, xxii. 30.

[2] S. John iv. 10-14.

[3] S. John vii. 37-39.

bread which came down out of heaven; not as the fathers did eat, and died: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.'[1]

It was then to men with such an experience that our Lord spoke when He instituted the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist on the night before His death. Moreover the circumstances would naturally remind them of their experience. The occasion was fitted to recall the solemn associations of sacred food in the Jewish religion, and our Lord's references to that which is eaten and drunk. Whether the 'Last Supper,' in the course of which the institution of the Sacrament took place, was the actual keeping of the Passover or a meal twenty-four hours earlier which our Lord, in view of His death on the coming day, connected with the Passover, it is difficult to say. In any case—unless the unlikely theory is true that the association was with the 'Kiddush' (the weekly sanctification of the Sabbath) and not with the Passover at all—the Passover and its rites were prominently in the minds of the Apostles.[2] Both their past training and their present surroundings made it easy for them to realise that food and drink should be means of communion with God.

The earliest written account of the institution of the Sacrament which we possess is that given by S. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. 'I received of

[1] S. John vi. 48-58.

[2] See Note 1. on page 289 for the difficulties in the Gospel narratives, and for the theory about the 'Kiddush.'

the Lord,' S. Paul writes, 'that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which He was betrayed took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, This is My body, which is for you: this do for a memorial of Me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in My blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, for a memorial of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come.'[1] The same facts are recorded by S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke in their Gospels.[2] In their accounts there are differences in detail from that given by S. Paul, of which the chief is that the words at the institution of the cup are given by S. Matthew as 'Drink ye all of it; for this is My blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many unto remission of sins'; by S. Mark as 'This is My blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many'; and by S. Luke as 'This cup is the new covenant in My blood, even that which is poured out for you.'[3]

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 23-26. It is doubtful whether the words 'For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come' are part of what our Lord said or are S. Paul's comment.

[2] S. Matt. xxvi. 26-29; S. Mark xiv. 22-25; S. Luke xxii. 17-20.

[3] See Sanday in Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 636-637; Frankland, *The Early Eucharist*, pp. 30-47, 116-119; and Blakiston in *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1903, pp. 548-555, for discussions of the details of the accounts of the institution; and of the possibility of the original text of S. Luke omitting the words quoted above: see also R.V. margin of S. Luke xxii. 19, 20.

It is doubtful whether our Lord Himself celebrated the Holy Eucharist on any other occasion than that of the institution. Very many have supposed that S. Luke's Gospel records an instance of such a celebration. On the day of the Resurrection our Lord accompanied two of His disciples in their journey to Emmaus without being recognised by them; and 'when He had sat down with them to meat, He took the bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew Him; and He vanished out of their sight.' 'And they rehearsed the things that happened in the way, and how He was known of them in the breaking of the bread.'[1] The phrases 'took the bread,' 'blessed,' 'brake,' 'gave,' in this passage resemble the language in which the institution of the Eucharist is described. The phrase, 'the breaking of the bread' became one of the ordinary designations of the Eucharist. The manifestation of Himself by our Lord might well coincide with the moment of giving the disciples the Holy Communion. Theologians and interpreters of great eminence have seen in this history an instance of the Holy Eucharist. On the other hand, similar phraseology is used in the accounts of the feeding of the five thousand and the four thousand;[2] 'the breaking of the bread' need not necessarily in this context denote the Eucharist; the recognition may have been connected with our Lord's

[1] S. Luke xxiv. 30, 31, 35.

[2] S. Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36.

known manner of taking and blessing and giving the bread at ordinary meals or with the sight of the marks of the nails as He used His hands; the two disciples to whom the manifestation was made had not been present at the institution of the Sacrament; the amount of patristic authority for the identification of our Lord's action on this occcaion with the Eucharist has been greatly exaggerated in statements frequently made; and, from a theological point of view, it appears to be unlikely there would be any celebration of the Eucharist other than the Institution until after the Ascension of our Lord and the coming of the Holy Ghost.

There is no good reason for doubting that our Lord at the Last Supper was instituting a rite which He intended His disciples to observe.[1] It is incredible that Christians everywhere should have misunderstood His meaning. The celebration of the Eucharist formed part of Christian worship from the first. The earliest distinct record of this observance is in S. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. The earliest instances of the observance itself are those narrated in the Acts of the Apostles. Of the three thousand converts who were baptized on the Day of Pentecost it

[1] See Sanday in Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 638; Plummer in Hastings, *op. cit.*, iii. 145-147, and Frankland, *The Early Eucharist*, pp. 120-126, for a discussion of the views (1) of Dr. Percy Gardner and others, that our Lord did not intend to institute a Sacrament, and (2) of Mr. Arthur Wright, that it had been instituted earlier in the ministry.

is told that 'they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers';[1] and of the Christian community in general it is said that they were 'day by day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home'[2]—passages in which the connection of the 'breaking of bread' with 'the prayers,' and of 'breaking bread at home' with 'continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple,' seem to show that the reference is to a religious rite, and, if so, to the Eucharist. On S. Paul's visit to Troas, it is recorded in the Acts that 'upon the first day of the week, when we were gathered together to break bread, Paul discoursed with them,' and that 'when he was gone up, and had broken the bread, and eaten, and had talked with them a long while, even till break of day, he departed.'[3] In the First Epistle to the Corinthians the Eucharist is incidentally mentioned as an ordinance of Christ,[4] and a well-known part of Christian life.[5]

Besides these explicit references to the Eucharist in the New Testament, customs connected with it are also mentioned. The 'holy kiss'[6] or 'kiss of charity,'[7] of which S. Paul and S. Peter speak in their Epistles,

[1] Acts ii. 42. [2] Acts ii. 46.

[3] Acts xx. 7, 11. It is unlikely that Acts xxvii. 35 refers to the Eucharist.

[4] 1 Cor. xi. 23. [5] 1 Cor. x. 16-21, xi. 23-29.

[6] Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26.

[7] 1 S. Peter v. 14. For the 'kiss of peace,' see pp. 270, 271, *infra*.

was probably the liturgical 'kiss of peace' found associated with the Eucharist in the earliest times following the period of the New Testament. The 'agape' or 'love-feast,' alluded to by S. Paul,[1] S. Peter,[2] and S. Jude,[3] was closely connected with the Eucharist. The collection of alms ordered by S. Paul at Corinth and in Galatia may have taken place at the celebration of it.[4]

In the time immediately following the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost the Holy Eucharist was celebrated daily. 'Day by day' are the words in the Acts of the Apostles 'breaking bread.'[5] In the account given later in the same book of the celebration at Troas there appears to have been some special connection with 'the first day of the week.'[6]

The Eucharist was instituted in the evening at the Last Supper. No indication is given as to the hour of the celebrations at Jerusalem in the earliest days of the Church. In the instance at Troas the preliminary service, including the discourse by S. Paul, was held at night and lasted till after midnight, the Eucharist itself was in the early morning, evidently long before daybreak.[7] At Corinth, when S. Paul

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21.
[2] 2 S. Pet. ii. 13 (R.V., following what appears to be the true text).
[3] S. Jude 12. For the 'agape,' see p. 271, *infra*.
[4] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.
[5] Acts ii. 46.
[6] Acts xx. 7.
[7] Acts xx. 7, 11.

wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians, it appears to have been in the evening in connection with the 'agape' or 'love-feast.'[1]

The command of our Lord to celebrate the Eucharist was given to the Apostles.[2] The only occasion in the New Testament on which the minister is mentioned is that when S. Paul was the celebrant.[3]

The recipients of the Eucharist evidently included Christians in general. Stress is laid by S. Paul on the need of careful preparation before Communion.[4]

From the facts that unleavened bread alone was lawful at the time of the keeping of the Passover,[5] and that the wine of the Passover meal was usually mingled with water,[6] it may be inferred that the bread and wine used by our Lord at the institution of the Sacrament were respectively unleavened and mixed with water. Even if the Last Supper was not the actual Passover but an anticipation of it, the probability that the Paschal unleavened bread and the mixed wine would be used is very strong.[7]

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21.

[2] S. Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25; cf. S. Matt. xxvi. 20; S. Mark xiv. 17; S. Luke xxii. 14.

[3] Acts xx. 11. [4] 1 Cor. xi. 27-32. [5] Ex. xii. 15, 18-20.

[6] See Dr. John Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on S. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, and 1 Cor. xi. 25.

[7] See Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 32.

CHAPTER III

THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST

It was to minds and hearts which the providence of God had trained and prepared, that the Christian religion was proclaimed. 'When the fulness of the time came,' wrote S. Paul to the Galatians, 'God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law.'[1] Through revelation and nature, as the same Apostle taught the Romans, 'God manifested' 'that which may be known of God'; and in 'the things that are made' there were clear signs even of God's 'invisible things,' 'His everlasting power and divinity.'[2] While it is expressly declared that 'the world through its wisdom knew not God,'[3] and that the Creator 'in the generations gone by suffered all the nations[4] to walk in their own ways,'[5] it is no less clearly maintained that 'He left not Himself without witness' even among the heathen 'in that He did good and gave' them 'from heaven rains and fruitful seasons,'[6]

[1] Gal. iv. 4.
[2] Rom. i. 19, 20.
[3] 1 Cor. i. 21.
[4] πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, *i.e.* all the heathen.
[5] Acts xiv. 16.
[6] Acts xiv. 17.

and that 'He made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitations, that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He is not far from each one of us: for in Him we live, and move, and have our being.'[1]

There were exaggerations of some aspects of the truth of God's universal care in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries. Yet it was but an echo of the teaching of S. Paul when Clement of Alexandria declared, 'Of the Word are all men, some with actual knowledge of Him, others not yet possessing it, some as friends, others as faithful servants, others as simply servants'; 'by a different process, for the one Greek, for the other Jewish, He leads to the perfection which is through faith';[2] and S. Athanasius maintained, in correlation to the unique character and supreme claims of Christianity, that in the works of creation and through 'the grace of the divine image' in man there may be knowledge of the Creator, of God the Word, and of the Father through Him; and that it was by a further gift that the Jews 'were for all the world a holy school of the knowledge of God and the conduct of the soul.'[3] In Newman's words 'There is nothing unreasonable in

[1] Acts xvii. 26-28.

[2] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vii. 2 (pp. 831, 834, Potter's edition).

[3] S. Athanasius, *De Incarn.*, 12; cf. 11.

the notion that there may have been heathen poets and sages, or sibyls again, in a certain extent divinely illuminated, and organs through whom religious and moral truth was conveyed to their countrymen, though their knowledge of the Power from whom the gift came, nay, and their perception of the gift as existing in themselves, may have been very faint and defective.'[1] To understand the teaching of the New Testament, then, it is necessary to remember who they were, both Jews and heathen, to whom the Christian religion was first preached; and to be mindful both of the revealed truths contained in the Old Testament and of the guesses whereby the divine image, which is an integral part of human nature, had struggled in darkness and amid sin to attain to knowledge of God and of His will.

To the Jew and to the heathen sacrifice was a chief element in religion. It was closely connected with partaking of a sacred meal. The principal ideas about it, the one most prominent among the heathen, the other most prominent among the Jews, were communion with God and propitiation of God. To men familiar with thoughts like these our Lord was manifested and proclaimed.

A further need for understanding what is taught about any particular Christian doctrine is appreciation of the general principles of the Christian religion.

[1] Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, Part I., ch. i., sect. 3, § 5 (p. 82, fifth edition).

In the New Testament the Jewish doctrine of the unity of God is reaffirmed. The hints thrown out here and there in the Old Testament, that in the Godhead there are more Persons than one, are expanded into the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The teacher from God, Jesus of Nazareth, is shown to be the eternal Son of God made Man. His death is represented as the propitiation for sin. His Resurrection and Ascension are described as preliminary to a work in heaven. From His ascended glory He sends God the Holy Ghost. The service of God the Father, union with God the Son, to possess the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, are marks of Christian life.

The general idea of the union of the Christian with Christ is found in parts of the New Testament which differ greatly from one another in method and in date. Notable instances of it are in the First Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians, written by S. Paul about A.D. 57 and 63; the Second Epistle of S. Peter, written perhaps about A.D. 67; and the Gospel according to S. John, possibly the work of the last ten years of the first century. The teaching of S. Paul that Christ lives in the Christian, and that through Christ the Christian has access in the Spirit to the Father, and that Christians are the body of Christ, and of S. Peter that Christians are partakers of the divine nature, is but the statement in other

language of the truth contained in our Lord's words recorded by S. John, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for apart from Me ye can do nothing.'[1]

One of the inferences which the New Testament writers draw from the truth of the union of Christians with Christ is that of the possibility and duty of a correspondence between their lives and His. S. Paul connects the fact that Christ liveth in him with his living unto God.[2] 'If then ye,' he says elsewhere, 'were raised together with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God'; 'for ye died, and your life is hid with Christ in God.'[3] In S. Peter's Epistle the partaking of the divine nature is in close relation with the escape from the corruption that is in the world by lust.[4] As Christ completely surrendered His perfectly holy life to the will of the Father even unto death and thus offered a sacrifice, so also the life and worship of Christians are sacrificial. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, while declaring that Christ 'offered one sacrifice for sins for ever,'[5] no less clearly describes true Christian life as a sacrificial offering which has been made possible by the acts of Christ. 'Jesus also,' he says, 'that He might sanctify the people

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, 27; Gal. ii. 20; Eph. ii. 18; 2 S. Pet. i. 4; S. John xv. 5.

[2] Gal. ii. 19, 20.

[3] Col. iii. 1, 3.

[4] 2 S. Pet. i. 4.

[5] Heb. x. 12.

through His own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us, therefore, go forth unto Him without the camp, bearing His reproach. For we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come. Through Him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to His name. But to do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'[1] S. Paul speaks of our Lord as 'set forth to be a propitiation through faith, by His blood,'[2] and of himself as 'the priest of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles, doing the work of a priest in respect of the Gospel of God that the oblation of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.'[3] S. Peter teaches that Christians were 'redeemed' 'with precious blood,' 'even the blood of Christ,' and that Christ 'bare our sins in His body upon the tree,' so that His 'stripes' were the means of healing,[4] and also that they 'are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.'[5]

In approaching the doctrine of the Eucharist it is even more necessary to remember the union with Christ which is a specific mark of the Christian, and the sacrificial character of Christian life and worship, than it is to appreciate the facts that in Judaism the

[1] Heb. xiii. 12-16. [2] Rom. iii. 25. [3] Rom. xv. 16.
[4] 1 S. Pet. i. 18, 19, ii. 24. [5] 1 S. Pet. ii. 5, 9.

true God who had revealed Himself to His chosen people, and in heathenism the deities of the nations, were approached by sacrifice with which sacrificial meals were closely connected, and in which the ideas of communion with God and propitiation of God were conjoined.

The sacramental union of the Christians with Christ is first accomplished in Holy Baptism. 'As many of you,' wrote S. Paul, 'as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ.'[1] 'As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit.'[2] 'All we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into His death.'[3] The teaching that Christ 'cleansed' the Church 'by the washing of water with the word' is closely followed by the assertion 'We are members of His body.'[4]

It is probable that the relation described when it is said that Christ is 'the vine' and Christians are 'the branches,' is the union which Holy Scripture connects with Baptism. In that Sacrament the stream of habitual grace is poured into the soul, as the life of the vine flows through its branches.

By Baptism, then, the Christian possesses the life

[1] Gal. iii. 27.
[2] 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13.
[3] Rom. vi. 3.
[4] Eph. v. 26, 30.

of Christ. Nothing less than this is the rich gift to him who is 'made a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.'[1]

The teaching of our Lord recorded by S. John that He is 'the vine' and Christians are 'the branches,'[2] and that the means of entrance into the kingdom of God is the new birth of water and the Spirit,'[3] must be compared with the discourse at Capernaum which the same Evangelist relates. The participation of Christ is there connected with the act of eating. Our Lord speaks of 'the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you,' and of 'the true bread out of heaven,' 'the bread of God,' 'which cometh down out of heaven and giveth life unto the world.' He describes Himself as 'the bread of life,' and 'the living bread which came down out of heaven.' He says, 'the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world.' He adds, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him. As the living Father sent Me, and I live because of the Father; so

[1] For fuller treatment of this subject, see the author's *Holy Baptism*, an earlier volume in this series.

[2] S. John xv. 5.

[3] S. John iii. 3, 5.

he that eateth Me, he also shall live because of Me.'[1]

Our Lord's teaching about the vine and the branches, and about the new birth and the entrance into the kingdom of God by means of water and the Spirit, is recorded by S. John as given in parts of the ministry earlier than the time of the institution of Holy Baptism related by S. Matthew, which affords the explanation how practical effect was to be given to the teaching. Similarly, the suggestion of a sacred meal in the Christian religion and the assertion of the necessity of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man are in the Fourth Gospel, while the history of the institution of the Holy Eucharist is given by the Synoptists and by S. Paul. But when the language recorded by S. John is compared with that found in the other Evangelists and in S. Paul, the doctrinal significance is seen to be identical. Of that which is to be eaten and drunk, the description in S. John's Gospel is that it is the flesh and blood of the Son of Man;[2] of the bread and the wine given by our Lord at the institution of the Eucharist His words are 'This is My body,'[3] 'This is My blood,'[4] 'This cup is the new covenant in My blood.'[5]

Besides his quotation of our Lord's words used at the institution of the Sacrament, S. Paul speaks of

[1] S. John vi. 27, 32, 33, 35, 48, 51, 53-57. [2] S. John vi. 53.
[3] S. Matt. xxvi. 26; S. Mark xiv. 22; S. Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24.
[4] S. Matt. xxvi. 28; S. Mark xiv. 24.
[5] S. Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 25.

the gift in the Eucharist as being of the body and blood of Christ, and describes the sin of those who communicate unworthily as involving guilt in regard to the body and blood. 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?' 'Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord.'[1]

It would be rash to say that any passage in Holy Scripture must necessarily mean some one thing on the ground of the apparent sense of the words regarded simply by themselves. It may at least be said that the obvious meaning of the passages which have been quoted is that the bread and wine given and received in the Holy Eucharist are the body and blood of Christ; and that, so far as Hooker's saying, 'I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst,'[2] is sound, they are thus to be understood.[3]

The words which our Lord used when He instituted the Eucharist are of a sacrificial character. 'This do for a memorial of Me';[4] 'This is My blood of

[1] 1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 27.
[2] Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. lix. 2.
[3] For other interpretations, see pp. 120-123, 142, 181, *infra*.
[4] S. Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

the covenant which is poured out for many.'[1] The association with the Passover supplied sacrificial surroundings. In such a setting the word 'do' (ποιέω) in the Hellenistic Greek in which the New Testament is written, like the corresponding Hebrew word (עשה) means to offer in sacrifice.[2] The ordinary meaning of the word 'memorial' (ἀνάμνησις) in the Septuagint or Greek Old Testament is a memorial before God.[3] 'Blood' and 'covenant' both suggest sacrifice.[4] With sacrifice in view, the word 'poured out' (ἐκχυνόμενον) recalls the sacrificial action of pouring out before God the blood of the victim which had been slain.[5]

There is a similar suggestion of sacrifice in the words, 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come,'[6] which S. Paul either quotes from our Lord's act of

[1] S. Matt. xxvi. 28; S. Mark xiv. 24; S. Luke xxii. 20.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Ex. xxix. 39; Lev. ix. 7; Ps. lxvi. 15. In these and other passages עשה (Septuagint ποιέω) is translated 'offer' in both the Authorised Version and the Revised Version.

[3] Ἀνάμνησις occurs in the Septuagint in Lev. xxiv. 7; Num. x. 10; Ps. xxxvii. (Heb. xxxviii.) 1, lxix. (Heb. lxx.) 1; Wisd. xvi. 6. It means a memorial before God in every place except Wisd. xvi. 6, where it denotes a reminder to man.

[4] See, *e.g.*, Ex. xxiv. 5-8.

[5] For this use of ἐκχέω in the Septuagint, see Ex. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34; viii. 15; ix. 9; 4 Ki. (=2 Kings) xvi. 15. Cf. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, pp. 265-266. That ἐκχυνόμενον ought to have been translated 'poured out' in the R.V. in S. Mat. xxvi. 28, and S. Mark xiv. 24, as well as in S. Luke xxii. 20, is pointed out by Bishop Westcott in *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*, p. 90, note.

[6] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

instituting the Sacrament or adds as his own comment.[1] If they stood by themselves, it might perhaps be fairly maintained that their meaning was exhausted by a reference to the Eucharist as a reminder and proclamation to Christians of our Lord's death. Since they occur after the phrases already commented on, it is natural to see in them a reference to a proclamation of the death of Christ before God the Father.

In the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews in which the writer is referring to the intimate connection between the sacrificial character of Christian worship and the death of Christ[2] he says of Christians, 'We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.'[3] Theologians of great authority, including S. Leo and S. Thomas Aquinas,[4] have explained the word 'altar' in this passage to denote Christ Himself or His cross. It is indeed probable that there is such a reference in it. But, when the word 'eat' and the connection of the statement with the subsequent assertion of the sacrificial character of Christian worship are observed, it is difficult to resist a conclusion that the feeding

[1] See p. 14, *supra*, note.

[2] Heb. xiii. 12-16.

[3] Heb. xiii. 10.

[4] S. Leo, *Serm.*, lix. 5; S. Thomas Aquinas, on Heb. xiii. 10. When S. Cyril of Alexandria (*De Ador.*, ix. t. i. p. 310, Aubert) says of our Lord with reference to the Jewish rites, 'He is the altar; He is the incense; He is the High Priest; He is also the blood of the purification of sins,' it is possible this passage was in his mind.

upon Christ which is made possible in the Eucharist is in view as an act of sacrifice.[1]

This conclusion is confirmed when the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews as a whole is considered. The central thought contained in this Epistle is that of the priesthood of Christ. His life on earth, itself priestly because representative and mediatorial, led up to His atoning death. His death was the prelude to His Resurrection and Ascension. Inasmuch as it was His office 'to make propitiation for the sins of the people,' He was 'a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God.'[2] In His death He offered to the Father the sacrifice of Himself.[3] His entrance into heaven on His Ascension is connected with His 'having become a high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.'[4] His work in His ascended glory, in which He is 'a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, not man,' is an abiding reality, as He ever appears 'before the face of God for us' in the presentation of the one 'sacrifice of Himself.'[5] Into the offering of this heavenly sacrifice Christians can enter; for they 'are come unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable

[1] See, *e.g.*, the comments of Theophylact and Cornelius a Lapide *in loco*. Cf. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, p. 260, 'It cannot reasonably be disputed that he is referring to the familiar but solemn rite of the Holy Communion.'

[2] Heb. ii. 17.

[3] Heb. ix. 26, x. 10, xiii. 12.

[4] Heb. vi. 20; cf. vii. 24.

[5] Heb. viii. 1-3, ix. 23-26.

hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel.'[1] When this teaching of the abiding priesthood and perpetual sacrifice of Christ and of the access of Christians to the heavenly sanctuary is put in relation with the assertion of the sacrificial character of Christian worship and life,[2] and when it is remembered that from the first the centre of worship and life was in the Eucharist, there is additional reason for believing that an allusion to the Eucharist is to be seen in the words, 'We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle.'[3]

This aspect of Christian worship, as deriving its sacrificial character from its earthly centre in the Eucharist and its heavenly centre in the presentation of His once slain but now living Manhood by Christ to the Father, is further supported by the description of the worship of heaven in the Revelation of S. John. S. John describes our Lord in the image of the Lamb as receiving the thanksgiving and praise and adoration of redeemed humanity and of the angels;[4] and he says of Him, 'I saw in the midst of the throne and of

[1] Heb. xii. 22-24. [2] Heb. xiii. 12-16.
[3] On this verse see, further, Note II. on p. 291.
[4] Rev. v. 8-14.

the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain.'[1] Our Lord is represented in a created form, to denote His Manhood; He is manifested as the Lamb 'as though it had been slain' to show that He is the victim 'which taketh away the sin of the world';[2] He is described as 'standing' to denote the position of sacrifice. It is as He fulfils the prophecy of Zechariah, 'He shall be a priest upon His throne,'[3] that He receives adoring worship. This majestic description has its consistent place in the divine revelation as the sacrificial character of the Eucharist enables it to be the link between the worship of the Church on earth and the worship of the Church in heaven.

To grasp the meaning of the Bible with any degree of fulness, it is necessary to regard it in the light of the teaching and history of the Church. Still, when the language of the New Testament is looked at by itself in the simplest and most obvious way it shows to us the Eucharist as the means of feeding on the body and blood of Christ and of pleading the one sacrifice of His Manhood surrendered so completely that even His death was but the prelude to an abiding offering in His risen and ascended life. Behind all the indications of a Eucharistic Sacrifice which are scattered about in the New Testament are the words in which our Lord described the Sacrament at the institution

[1] Rev. v. 6. [2] S. John i. 29. [3] Zech. vi. 13.

of it, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood.' In the consecrated bread and wine made to be the body and blood of Christ Christians can present to the Father as the memorial of the Son the Manhood once slain and now living and glorified.

CHAPTER IV

THE PATRISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST

Those who have studied at all fully the writings of the Fathers of the Christian Church are familiar with two facts. Throughout these writings there is a great and very remarkable agreement as to certain matters of faith and morals. Not less marked than this agreement are differences in expression, in method of treatment, and as to some points of belief and practice. To compare the Fathers of the second and third centuries with those of the fifth and sixth, or the writers of Gaul and Italy and Carthage and Alexandria with one another is to become conscious of agreement and difference, both of which are in the highest degree instructive. Much that has been written about the doctrines of the Fathers would have been much more useful had the wideness of the range been taken into account.

It would be possible to illustrate this characteristic of patristic literature in several departments of theology. One of the best illustrations of it is with regard to the subject of this book, the Holy Com-

munion. Throughout the writings of the Fathers there is unbroken agreement that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice. Beyond this, there are differences of expression and terminology; differences probably of belief as to the exact relation of the divine presence to the natural elements, so far as there was a beginning of consideration of that question; and here and there an occasional tendency to understand the ordinary Christian language in another than its obvious sense.

The treatment of the doctrine of the Eucharist by the Fathers has the advantages and the disadvantages of uncontroversial method. Before controversy on a subject has arisen, or has become acute, the subject is referred to with ease and simplicity and candour and good temper and unconscious indication of real thought, which are very difficult to attain where there is a sense that what is said is likely to be disputed and must be carefully expressed. This is certainly a great gain. On the other hand, the existence of controversy demands exactness of thought and precision of expression which in their turn have advantages. Writings earlier than controversies on the subjects with which they deal are like a man's private conversation with a trusted friend; those which are later than the rise of controversies bear more resemblance to a prepared speech on an important occasion which the newspapers are to report. In considering the teaching

of the Fathers about the Eucharist it is necessary to remember that they are incidentally referring to it in illustration of something else, or instructing new Christians, or building up the faithful, or defending the Christian religion as a whole to the heathen or against heretics, not formally explaining or discussing this particular doctrine in view of any controversy about it among Christians themselves.

It must be sufficient to give a very few instances of the agreement among the Fathers that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ. They shall be selected from representative writers of different times and in different parts of the Church: S. Ignatius of Asia Minor, writing about A.D. 116, S. Justin Martyr of Asia Minor and Italy some thirty or forty years later, S. Irenæus of Gaul at the end of the second century; in the third century, Clement and Origen of Alexandria, Tertullian and S. Cyprian of Carthage, the *Canons of Hippolytus* of Rome or Egypt; in the fourth and fifth centuries S. Athanasius of Alexandria, the Council of Nicæa, S. Ambrose of Milan, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Chrysostom of Antioch and Constantinople, S. Augustine of Hippo, S. Cyril of Alexandria, and S. Leo of Rome; in the sixth century S. Gregory the Great.

The chief object of S. Ignatius in his *Epistle to the Smyrnæans* was to condemn the Docetic heresy, which denied that the Son of God in the Incarnation took the true flesh and blood of real manhood. In

the course of his letter he incidentally says that the Docetics 'abstain from Eucharist and prayer because they do not acknowledge that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, which the Father of His goodness raised up,'[1] apparently implying that the common belief of communicants in the Church was that the Eucharistic gift is the body of Christ. In his *First Apology* S. Justin Martyr defended the beliefs and worship and life of Christians against attacks made upon them by the heathen. Towards the end of it he described the Sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Of the latter he said, 'This food is among us called Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake unless he believes that our teaching is true and has been washed in the laver for the remission of sins and for regeneration and is living as Christ commanded. For we do not receive it as common bread or common drink; but just as Jesus Christ our Saviour, made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been made by the prayer of the word which is from Him—that food from which our blood and flesh are by assimilation nourished—is both the flesh and the blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.'[2] This doctrinal statement about the Eucharist is again incidental, being introduced to show the reason why Christians

[1] S. Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, 6. [2] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 66.

withhold Communion in their chief Sacrament from all who have not the qualifications of acceptance of the Christian creed, Baptism, and a life of obedience to Christ. It is, at the same time, a clear assertion that the ordinary Christian belief regarded the consecrated food as the flesh and blood of Christ. The occasion of the teaching about the Eucharist given by S. Irenæus was much the same as that in the case of the *Epistle to the Smyrnæans* of S. Ignatius. In his great work, usually cited by its shorter title, *Against heresies*, S. Irenæus described and refuted at length many different forms of Gnosticism. Part of the fundamental Gnostic error was, in opposition to Christianity, to set up an insuperable barrier between the spiritual and the material, between the true God and the created world. Against this idea S. Irenæus appealed to the witness of the Eucharist. Here, he said, is a sure instance of the union of the spiritual and the material, of God and His creation. 'How can they allow that the bread over which the thanksgiving has been said is the body of their Lord and that the cup is of His blood if they say that He is not the Son of the Creator of the world, that is His Word, through whom the wood is fruitful and the springs flow and the earth yields first the blade then the ear then the full corn in the ear? How, again, do they say that the flesh which is nourished by the body and blood of the Lord descends to corruption and does not attain unto life? Either, then, let

them change their mind or let them cease to offer that which has been mentioned. But our belief is in harmony with the Eucharist; and the Eucharist, again, establishes our belief. For we offer unto Him the things that are His own, proclaiming harmoniously the communion and unity of flesh and spirit. For as the bread of the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread but Eucharist, made up of two things, an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies, partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.' Elsewhere, S. Irenæus uses similar arguments, appealing to Eucharistic doctrine as supplying illustrations of the falsity of the Gnostic denials of the reality of Christ's flesh and of the resurrection of the body. With such ideas in view he says that the Lord 'taking bread acknowledged it to be His body and affirmed the mixed wine in the cup to be His blood'; and that 'the mixed cup and the bread which has been made receives the word of God and the Eucharist becomes the body of Christ.'[1] In all these passages the doctrine that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ is regarded by S. Irenæus as so far the established Christian belief that appeal can be made to it to support other truths against the attacks of heretics.

So far as the one point at present under consideration is concerned—the assertion that the consecrated

[1] S. Irenæus, *C. Hær.*, IV. xviii. 5, xxxiii. 2, V. ii. 3.

bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ—the teaching of the Alexandrian and Egyptian writers of the third century does not differ from that of the second century Fathers to whom reference has already been made. Clement of Alexandria declares that our Lord supplies us with suitable food, as a mother her child, and 'provides flesh and pours out blood';[1] Origen speaks of communicants receiving 'the body of the Lord'[2] and eating 'the bread which has become a holy body[3] because of the prayer';[4] Tertullian refers to the bread as 'the body of the Lord';[5] S. Cyprian describes the Eucharist as being 'the holy body of the Lord';[6] the *Canons of Hippolytus* order the bishop when he gives Communion to say, 'This is the body of Christ,' 'This is the blood of Christ.'[7]

The evidence from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries is no less clear than that from the third. The council of Nicæa, the first Œcumenical Council, held in A.D. 325, describes that which the minister gives to the communicant as 'the body of Christ.'[8] S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria from A.D. 326 to A.D. 373, calls 'the bread' 'the body,' and 'the cup' 'the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, i. 6 (t. i., p. 123, Potter).
[2] Origen, *In Exod. Hom.*, xiii. 3. [3] Σῶμα ἁγιόν τι.
[4] Origen, *C. Cels.*, viii. 33.
[5] Tertullian, *De Idol.*, 7; *De Orat.*, 14. [6] S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, xv. 1.
[7] *Canons of Hippolytus*, canon xix. sects. 146, 147.
[8] Council of Nicæa, canon xviii.

S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan from A.D. 374 to A.D. 397, speaks of the Eucharist as 'flesh and blood.' S. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem from A.D. 351 to A.D. 386, tells those who are preparing for Communion that 'the body' and 'the blood' of Christ will be given to them. S. Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople from A.D. 398 to A.D. 407, says that Christ 'allows us to partake of His flesh and blood,' and 'makes the elements to become His body and blood.' S. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo from A.D. 395 to A.D. 430, describes the consecrated elements as 'the body and blood of Christ.' S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 412 to A.D. 444, speaks of them as 'Christ's flesh and blood.' S. Leo, Pope of Rome from A.D. 440 to A.D. 461, uses the phrase 'the participation of the body and blood of Christ' to denote Communion. S. Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome from A.D. 590 to A.D. 604, says that in this Sacrament Christ's 'body is taken, His flesh is distributed for the salvation of the people, His blood is poured, not now into the hands of unbelievers, but into the mouths of the faithful.'[1] These are some of the

[1] See, *e.g.*, S. Athanasius, *Serm. ad Bapt.*; S. Ambrose, *De Fide*, iv. 124; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. M.*, iv. 3; S. Chrysostom, *Ad Pop. Ant. Hom.*, ii. 9, *De Prodit. Jud. Hom.*, i. 6; S. Augustine, *De Trin.*, iii. 10; S. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Luc.*, on xxii. 19; S. Leo, *Serm.*, lxiii. 7; S. Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, iv. 58. For many quotations see Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence as contained in the Fathers*, of which there is a hostile criticism in Harrison, *An Answer to Dr. Pusey's Challenge respecting the Doctrine of the Real Presence.*

many writers who bear witness to the universality of the belief that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ. So unanimous is the testimony that a serious and detailed examination of the evidence from the first six centuries leaves no doubt as to the truth of Dr. Pusey's enthusiastic language, 'Throughout the whole circuit of the Christian world, from East and West, from North and South, there floated up to Christ our Lord one harmony of praise. Unbroken as yet, lived on the miracle of the Day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit from on high swept over the discordant strings of human tongues and thoughts, of hearts and creeds, and blended all their varying notes into one holy unison of truth. From Syria and Palestine and Armenia; from Asia Minor and Greece; from Thrace and Italy, from Gaul and Spain; from Africa Proper, and Egypt, and Arabia, and the Isles of the Sea; wherever any apostle had taught, wherever any martyr had sealed with his blood the testimony of Jesus; from the polished cities, or the anchorites of the desert, one Eucharistic voice ascended, Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and all Thy words are truth. Thou hast said "This is My body," "This is My blood." Hast Thou said, and shalt Thou not do it? As Thou hast said, so we believe.'[1]

The writings of the Fathers, then, supply unanimous testimony to the central fact that the conse-

[1] Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence as contained in the Fathers*, pp. 721, 722.

crated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ. This agreement—remarkable and claiming consideration even if it were viewed as a natural phenomenon, of far greater import for those who believe that God the Holy Ghost guides and teaches the Church—is found to have existed without any discussion or explanation of those painful questions about the method of the relation of the unseen Presence of our divine and human Lord to the visible elements, which the controversies of later years have unhappily made so prominent that too many in our own time and country begin to think about them before they have really laid hold on the vital truth of the gift of the body and blood of the crucified and risen Son of Man, who is also the eternal Son of God.

It is not surprising that with the absence of discussion in the Fathers of these further questions, there are present differences of terminology, and perhaps to some extent of thought. The deep reverence which the present writer feels and desires to express for the knowledge, and ability, and character, and toil of Dr. Pusey has not prevented him from forming the opinion that this great divine unintentionally exaggerated the extent to which there is evidence of a patristic belief that the whole natural substance of the bread and wine remains after the act of consecration.[1] On the other hand, he is

[1] Pusey, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-314.

equally convinced that the learning and theological genius of Cardinal Franzelin have wholly failed to prove the existence of a primitive tradition that the natural substance of the elements is changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.[1] The truth rather is that this kind of question had not been considered by the Fathers; and that, as a not unnatural consequence, the words of some of them lend themselves most readily to an assertion, those of others most easily to a denial, of the continued existence of the substance of the bread and wine.

The most important instances of passages, the obvious meaning of which appears to assert that the bread and wine remain in their natural substances after consecration, are the following. S. Irenæus, in the passage already quoted, describes the Eucharist as 'made up of two things, an earthly and a heavenly.'[2] According to Theodoret, who was Bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria in the first half of the fifth century, 'The mystic symbols do not depart

[1] Franzelin, *Tractatus de SS. Eucharistiæ Sacramento et Sacrificio*, pp. 195-251. Cardinal Franzelin summarises his conclusion as follows: —'I think it sufficiently proved from all which has been said that the faith whereby we profess the change in the substance and the removal of the bread and wine (substantialem conversionem et desitionem panis et vini) was always in all antiquity as universal as the faith concerning the real presence of the body of Christ, and that this presence was never understood in any other way than that Christ the Lord, in the institution of the most holy Sacrament, by changing the bread and wine themselves made them to be His body and blood in the sense already frequently explained' (p. 233).

[2] S. Irenæus, *C. Hær.*, IV. xviii. 5. See p. 41, *supra*.

from their proper nature after the consecration; for they remain in their former substance and fashion and form.'[1] Pope Gelasius, Bishop of Rome at the close of the fifth century, wrote, 'The Sacraments which we receive are the divine reality of the body and blood of Christ, wherefore it comes to pass both that we by them are made partakers of the divine nature, and that nevertheless the substance or nature of the bread and wine does not cease to be'; 'The elements pass into this, that is the divine, substance by the operation of the Holy Ghost, yet remain in the peculiarity of their own nature.'[2] So also the unknown writer of a treatise *On the Sacraments*, which may be as old as the fourth century, and has sometimes been ascribed to S. Ambrose, says, 'If then there is such power in the word of the Lord Jesus that those things which were not should begin to be, how much more is it operative that the things which were should still be and be changed into something else. The heaven was not; the sea was not; the earth was not; but hear David saying, "He spake and they were made; He commanded and they were created." Therefore, that I may answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before the consecration; but after the consecration I say to thee that it is now the

[1] Theodoret, *Dial.*, ii. (t. iv. p. 126, Schulze; t. lxxxiii. col. 168, Migne).

[2] Gelasius, *De Duabus Naturis in Christo*: the passage is quoted more at length, with a short discussion, in the author's *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, pp. 322, 323.

body of Christ.'[1] To describe the work of God in the Eucharist as effecting 'that those things which were should still be and be changed into something else,' appears to imply a belief in the continued existence after consecration of the whole nature of the bread and wine.

On the other hand, such words as 'transmake,' 'transelement,' 'transform,' 'transfigure,' 're-order,' which may seem to imply a different view, are applied to that which is done in the Sacrament, by S. Ambrose, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Chrysostom, S. Cyril of Alexandria, and other writers.[2] It does not, indeed, necessarily follow from any of their statements that they believed the substance of the bread and wine to exist no longer after consecration; but a comparison of such passages with those mentioned before leads to a conclusion that the Fathers, while seeing in Holy Scripture, and receiving from tradition, and unfalteringly believing the doctrine that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, had not faced philosophical questions as to the effect produced by consecration in the elements themselves. And it appears to be doubtful whether they would have given a uniform answer if they had been asked the express question whether after consecration the substance of the bread and wine still remained. In this matter, as in others,

[1] *De Sacramentis* (inter opera S. Ambr.), iv. 15, 16.

[2] For instances see Note III. on p. 291.

it was as easy in the early Church to leave questions unasked, as in the dominance of the Aristotelian philosophy in the Church of the Middle Ages it was natural to ask them.

It has often been maintained that the patristic statements which describe the consecrated bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ are not to be interpreted in their obvious sense. The same Fathers, it is said, who use such language speak also of the elements as signs and tokens and figures of the body and blood of Christ. A reasonable treatment of evidence, so the argument goes on, requires that the less definite statements be explained in the light of those which are more definite, and, therefore, whenever a patristic writer refers to the elements as the body and blood of Christ he is to be understood to mean that they represent them in such a way as to help Christians to be mindful of them. Or, it is maintained in a somewhat different type of theology, the elements are called Christ's body and blood because by means of the reception of them the faithful communicant receives also the virtue and grace of the Manhood of Christ. It is certainly true that the Fathers do speak of the bread and wine as signs and figures of the body and blood. Clement of Alexandria calls the wine 'the mystic symbol of the holy blood.'[1] Tertullian says that our Lord appointed bread to be 'the figure of His body'; and that 'He made' the

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, ii. 2 (t. i. p. 184, Potter).

bread 'His own body, saying This is My body, that is the figure of My body.'[1] 'Our salvation,' writes S. Gregory of Nyssa, 'is strengthened by participation in the mystic rites and symbols.'[2] S. Augustine says, 'He commended and delivered to His disciples the figure of His own body and blood'; 'The Lord hesitated not to say, This is My body, when He gave the sign of His body'; 'These things are called Sacraments for this reason, because in them one thing is seen, another understood.'[3] But to base on these statements, and on many others like them which it is unnecessary to quote, an argument that when the Fathers say, The bread is the body of Christ and the wine is His blood, they did not mean to be literally understood, is to ignore two considerations of very high importance. In the first place, the word 'symbol' and kindred words are used in the early Christian centuries to denote that which is, as well as represents, that which it signifies.[4] In the second place, the argument does not allow for the frequency and definiteness with which the gift is explicitly called Christ's body and blood, or Christ Himself; and is not likely to be regarded as satisfactory by those who will study not mere extracts, but the writings of the Fathers themselves with some degree

[1] Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iii. 19, iv. 40.

[2] S. Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eunom.*, xi. (t. ii. p. 704, ed. Paris, 1638).

[3] S. Augustine, *In Ps.* iii. *Enar.*, 1; *C. Adim. Man.*, xii. 3; *Serm.* cclxxii.

[4] See Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. 144, 145 (English translation).

of fulness, and try to enter into the tone and temper of patristic thought. It is true, again, that the allegorism of Origen led him, in addition to asserting what he called the 'commoner' doctrine that the elements are Christ's body and blood, to look favourably on a view which he styled 'deeper,' according to which the body and blood of Christ were explained to mean His word or Spirit;[1] and that Clement of Alexandria may have distinguished the body and blood present in the Eucharist from the real body of Christ.[2] Such ideas, especially when they come from a home of speculation like Alexandria, hardly do more than supply stronger emphasis to the force of the general agreement that the presence in the Eucharist is that of the body and blood of Christ, and therefore of Christ Himself.

The language of the Liturgies corroborates the teaching of the Fathers. The *Liturgy of S. James*, which illustrates the Syrian rite, contains the prayer, 'Send down Thy All-holy Spirit upon us and upon these holy gifts which lie before Thee, that He, coming upon them with His holy and good and glorious presence, may sanctify them and make this bread the holy body of Christ and this cup the precious blood of Christ.'[3] The *Liturgy of S. Mark*,

[1] Origen, *Comm. in Joan.*, xxxii. 16. See Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, pp. 219-222.

[2] Clement of Alexandria, *Pæd.*, ii. 2 (t. i. p. 177, Potter). See Gore, *The Body of Christ*, pp. 60, 61.

[3] *Liturgy of S. James* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*,

affording an instance of the Egyptian rite, has the words 'Look upon us and send upon this bread[1] and upon this cup[2] Thy Holy Spirit that as the Almighty God He may sanctify and perfect them and make the bread the body and the cup the blood of the new covenant of Jesus Christ Himself our Lord and God and Saviour and King.'[3] S. Cyril of Jerusalem describes the Liturgy used in that place in the middle of the fourth century as containing a prayer to God to 'send the Holy Ghost upon the offerings that He may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ.'[4] The Liturgical Prayers of Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, who died about A.D. 365, include the supplication 'O God of truth, let Thy holy Word come down upon this bread that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become the blood of the Truth.'[5] And, though a prayer of this kind is not found in those Western Liturgies which have come down to us, it is clear that they contained some equivalent, since S. Ambrose, with knowledge of the rite in use at Milan, speaks of 'the Sacraments which by means of

i.[54.]). The English expansion of the Cherubic Hymn as found in this Liturgy (*op. cit.*, i. 41, 42), 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence,' will be known to many.

[1] Τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους. [2] Τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα.

[3] *Liturgy of S. Mark* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 134).

[4] S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. M.*, v. 7. [5] Serapion, 1.

the mystery of the holy prayer are transfigured into flesh and blood';[1] and in the canon of the Mass used at Rome the celebrant prays that the gifts may 'be carried by the hands of the holy angel' of God to the 'altar on high,' 'so that as many as by participation of' the earthly 'altar receive the most holy body and blood of the Son' of God 'may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace.'[2]

There is a significant indication, again, of the mind of the Fathers in a passage written by S. Cyril of Alexandria about the reserved Sacrament. The custom, indeed, of reserving the Eucharist for the Communion of the sick and others at home would in itself be difficult to explain apart from the belief that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ; but, when in the fifth century some began to doubt whether the Sacrament thus reserved remained the same, S. Cyril wrote explicitly, 'I hear that they say that the mystic blessing is of no avail for consecration, if it be reserved to another day. In so saying, they are senseless. For Christ undergoes no alteration, neither is His holy body changed; but the efficacy of the blessing and the life-giving grace abide in it.'[3]

The care taken of the consecrated elements

[1] S. Ambrose, *De Fide*, iv. 124.
[2] See Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 173.
[3] S. Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Calosyrium* (t. vi. p. 565, Aubert).

is a further sign of the belief of the Church. 'It is a fret to us,' wrote Tertullian, 'if any part of our cup or bread fall to the ground.'[1] 'When you receive the body of the Lord,' said Origen, 'you hold it with all caution and veneration, lest any fragment of it should fall to the ground, or any portion of the consecrated gift be lost.'[2] It is the fact that 'they who taste are bidden to taste, not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ, of which the bread and wine are figures' which leads S. Cyril of Jerusalem to urge, 'Partake, giving heed lest thou lose any portion thereof; for whatever thou losest is evidently a loss to thee, as if it were from one of thine own members. For tell me, if any one gave thee grains of gold, wouldest thou not hold them with all carefulness, being on guard against losing any of them and suffering loss? Wilt thou not then much more carefully keep watch, that not a crumb fall from thee of what is more precious than gold and precious stones?'[3]

Moreover, the practice of the adoration of our Lord in the Sacrament shows belief in His presence there. Stress has sometimes been laid on the small number of references in the Fathers to this adoration; and it has been urged that they would be

[1] Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.*, 3.
[2] Origen, *In Ex. Hom.*, xiii. 3.
[3] S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. M.*, v. 20, 21.

more numerous if the practice had been usual. It is true that the references are few. One passage in S. Cyril of Jerusalem, one in S. Ambrose, one in S. Augustine, two in S. Chrysostom, and one in Theodoret, are thought to exhaust them. But, few as they are, their significance is seen to be very great when they are closely examined. The words of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, 'bending and in an attitude of reverence and worship,'[1] form part of the ordinary instruction given by S. Cyril as Bishop to the newly baptized. S. Ambrose evidently takes it for granted that his readers will know what he means when he makes without explanation a reference to 'the flesh of Christ which to this day we adore in the mysteries.'[2] S. Augustine appears to refer to what was customary and well known in his words, 'No one eats that flesh unless he has first adored.'[3] Unless his hearers were familiar with the practice of adoring our Lord in the Eucharist, it would be difficult to justify S. Chrysostom for saying, 'This body even when lying in the manger the Magi reverenced. Heathen and foreign men left their country and their home, and went a long journey, and came and worshipped Him with fear and much trembling. Let us, then, the citizens of heaven, imitate these foreigners. For

[1] S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. M.*, v. 22.
[2] S. Ambrose, *De Spir. Sanc.*, iii. 79.
[3] S. Augustine, *Enar. in Ps.*, xcviii. 9.

they approached with great awe when they saw Him in the manger and in the cell, and saw Him in no way such as thou dost see Him now. For thou dost see Him not in a manger but on an altar, not with a woman holding Him but with a priest standing before Him, and the Spirit descending upon the offerings with great bounty. . . . For as in the palaces of kings what is most splendid of all is not the walls, or the golden roof, but the body of the king sitting on the throne, so also in heaven there is the body of the king; but this thou mayest now behold on earth. For I show to thee not angels, nor archangels, nor the heaven, nor the heaven of heavens, but Him who is the Lord of these Himself'; 'Not in vain do we at the holy mysteries make mention of the departed, and draw near on their behalf, beseeching the Lamb who is lying upon the altar, who took away the sin of the world.'[1] And Theodoret, when contending with an opponent about the Incarnation, appeals to the fact that what the elements 'have become is worshipped' as if the practice of adoration were sufficiently familiar to afford a basis for an effective controversial argument.[2] Few as the references are, they require the existence of a known and habitual custom; they do not indicate the introduction of what was new and strange.

[1] S. Chrysostom, *In Ep. i. ad Cor. Hom.*, xxiv. 5, xli. 4.

[2] Theodoret, *Dial.*, ii. (t. iv. p. 126, Schulze; t. lxxxiii. col. 168, Migne).

There is, then, evidence of a cumulative and very convincing kind that according to the ordinary belief of the early Church the Eucharistic bread and wine are after consecration the body and blood of Christ.

CHAPTER V

THE PATRISTIC DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

As in the New Testament, so in the Fathers, the Christian religion is represented as sacrificial. They are eager to point out the differences between their life and worship and those of the heathen and of the Jews. It is a favourite topic with them that God does not need material sacrifices, and that the absence of these places Christianity on a higher level than either Judaism or paganism. They are intent, also, on strongly emphasising the spiritual character of the religion of Christ. But these elements in their thoughts do not hold them back from recognising the sacrificial aspect of Christianity. When Clement of Alexandria adds to the scorn which he pours on the material sacrifices of the heathen, a description of Christian prayer as an act of sacrifice, he affords a characteristic instance of patristic thought. 'The sacrifice of the Church,' he says, 'is in the words which are made an offering by holy souls when the whole mind is laid open to

God together with the sacrifice.'[1] 'We ought to offer to God sacrifices not of great cost but acceptable, even that compounded incense of the law[2] which consists of many tongues and voices in prayer, or rather of different nations and natures, prepared by the gift in the dispensations for the unity of the faith, and brought together in praises, with a pure mind and just and right conduct, from holy works and righteous prayer.'[3]

The sacrificial character of Christian worship was regarded by the Fathers as having its centre in the Holy Eucharist. From the earliest times the Eucharist was described as the Christian sacrifice. In *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a book probably written in Egypt or Syria in the first century or the early part of the second, an incidental reference to the Eucharist as the sacrifice of the Christian Church occurs. 'On the Lord's Day,'[4] it is there said, 'come together and break bread, and give thanks[5] after confessing your transgressions that our sacrifice may be pure. Let no one who has a dispute with his neighbour come together with you until they be reconciled, that our sacrifice be not defiled. For this is that which was spoken by the

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vii. 6 (t. ii. p. 848, Potter).

[2] See Exodus xxx. 34, 35.

[3] Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vii. 6 (t. ii. pp. 850, 851, Potter).

[4] The exact expression is remarkable, 'On the Lord's Day of the Lord' (*κατὰ κυριακὴν Κυρίου*).

[5] Or 'Keep the Eucharist' (*εὐχαριστήσατε*).

Lord, "In every place and at every time offer Me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My Name is wonderful among the Gentiles."'[1] When S. Clement of Rome, writing about A.D. 96, speaks of the 'offerings' of Christian worship, and compares these with the sacrificial ministrations of the Jews,[2] it is evident that the reference is, at least chiefly, to the Eucharist.[3] In the second century S. Ignatius, S. Justin Martyr, and S. Irenæus, connect the 'altar,'[4] the 'sacrifices,'[5] the 'new oblation,'[6] and the 'pure offering,'[7] with the Eucharist. In the third century S. Cyprian describes the bread and wine brought forth by Melchizedek and the wine and food used at the dedication of Solomon's Temple as types and figures of 'the Lord's sacrifice' and 'the Sacrament of the Lord's sacrifice';[8] speaks repeatedly of celebrating and offering 'sacrifices' with evident reference to the Eucharist,[9] and calls it a 'true and full sacrifice.'[10] 'If,' he says, 'Christ Jesus our Lord and God is Himself the High Priest of God the Father, and offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done as a memorial of

[1] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 14.
[2] S. Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.*, i. 40, 41.
[3] See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, I. ii. 124.
[4] S. Ignatius, *Ad Eph.*, 5; *Ad Phil.*, 4.
[5] S. Justin Martyr, *Dial c. Tryp.*, 41.
[6] S. Irenæus, *C. Hær.*, IV. xvii. 5.
[7] *Ibid.* cf. IV. xviii. 1.
[8] S. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 4, 5.
[9] S. Cyprian, *Ep.* xii. 2, xxxix. 3, lvii. 3, *et al.*
[10] S. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 14.

Himself, verily the priest as the minister of Christ truly performs this, who imitates that which Christ did and then offers in the Church a true and full sacrifice to God the Father, if he so begin to offer as he sees Christ offered.'[1] In the same century the Eucharist is viewed as a sacrifice by Origen, since in it is that commemoration of Christ 'which alone makes God propitious to men.'[2] In the fourth and fifth and sixth centuries the testimony is the same. The Council of Nicæa, in referring to the celebration of the Eucharist, describes it by the sacrificial term 'offer.'[3] A fragment of a sermon ascribed to S. Athanasius contains the sentence 'The bloodless sacrifice is a propitiation.'[4] The liturgical prayers of Serapion of Thmuis call the Eucharist 'this sacrifice,' 'this living sacrifice,' 'this bloodless offering.'[5] S. Ambrose says of the Eucharist that 'the body of Christ is offered,' and that Christ's 'word sanctifies the sacrifice which is offered.'[6] S. Chrysostom speaks of 'the sacrifice which lies upon' the 'table' where the feast of Communion takes place.[7] S. Augustine describes the Eucharist as 'the sacrifice of our redemption,' 'the sacrifice of the Mediator,' 'the sacrifice of peace,' 'the sacrifice of love,' 'the sacrifice of the body and blood of the Lord,' the

[1] S. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 14. [2] Origen, *In Lev. Hom.*, xiii. 3.
[3] Council of Nicæa, canon 18.
[4] S. Athanasius, *Oratio de Defunctis* (t. xxvi. col. 1249, Migne).
[5] Serapion, 1. [6] S. Ambrose, *In Ps.* xxxviii. *Enar.*, 25.
[7] S. Chrysostom, *In Ep. ad Rom. Hom.*, viii. 8.

sacrifice in which the Church as the mystical body of Christ offers herself to God.[1] S. Leo and S. Gregory, the great Popes of the fifth and sixth centuries, unhesitatingly regard the Eucharist as a sacrifice.[2]

The Fathers give no detailed explanations of the exact sense in which they considered the Eucharist to be a sacrifice. But it is clear that they regarded it as sacrificial in that it was the memorial of Christ, and that it was the chief means by which Christians dedicated themselves to God and held communion with Him.

To the Fathers, then, the Eucharist was the act in which the Church remembered Christ, and, in remembering Him, made the memorial of Him to the Father. It was the memorial of Him and therefore of all that is His. In a pre-eminent sense it commemorated His death. Since He rose from the tomb, and ascended into heaven, and there liveth, it commemorated also His resurrection and ascension and heavenly life. In one great presentation made by the Church before the throne of the Father, it included all the aspects and acts and sufferings of the Manhood of the Son.

The references in the writings of the Fathers to the relation between the Eucharist and the death of Christ are very frequent. When S. Ignatius says

[1] S. Augustine, *Conf.*, ix. 32; *Enchir.*, 110; *In Ps.* xxi. *Enar.*, ii. 28; *In Ps.* xxxiii. *Enar.*, i. 5; *De Civ. Dei*, x. 20.

[2] See, *e.g.*, S. Leo, *Serm.*, xxvi. 1, xci. 3; S. Gregory the Great, *In Ev. Hom.*, II. xxxvii. 7.

that 'the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ,' he adds the words, 'which suffered for our sins.'[1] S. Cyprian explicitly connects the commemoration of the Passion, 'Because,' he says, 'we make mention of His Passion in all sacrifices (for the Passion is the sacrifice of the Lord which we offer), we ought to do nothing else but what He did. For Scripture saith, "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye will proclaim the death of Christ until He come." As often, therefore, as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and His Passion, let us do that which it is known that the Lord did.'[2] 'We also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and beseech Thee by means of this sacrifice,' are words used in the oblation in the liturgical prayers of Serapion of Thmuis.[3] 'Now,' writes S. Athanasius, 'we sacrifice not a material lamb, but that true Lamb who was sacrificed, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was led as a sheep to the shambles, and as a lamb before the slaughterer was dumb, purifying us with His precious blood.'[4] 'Now,' says S. Ambrose, 'Christ is offered. But He is offered as Man, as One who takes on Himself suffering;[5] and He Himself offers Himself as Priest.'[6] 'Consider,' are the words

[1] S. Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, 6.
[2] S. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 17.
[3] Serapion, 1.
[4] S. Athanasius, *Ep. Heort.*, i. 9.
[5] Or 'who takes on Himself the Passion' ('quasi recipiens passionem'). The reference is either to our Lord taking a nature which was capable of suffering in the Incarnation, or to His submitting to death in that nature.
[6] S. Ambrose, *De Officiis*, i. 248.

of S. Chrysostom, 'what that is which lies before thee, and what is the reason of it. He was slain for thee, and thou neglectest to see Him sacrificed. . . . Consider what it is which is poured forth. It is blood, blood which blotted out the bond of sins, blood which cleansed thy soul, which washed away the stain, which triumphed over the principalities and powers.'[1] 'He made Himself low,' writes S. Augustine, 'that man might eat the bread of angels, and "taking the form of a slave, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross," that now from the cross the flesh and blood of the Lord might be commended to us as a new sacrifice.'[2] In like manner the Liturgies regard the Eucharist as a commemoration of our Lord's death. To give but one instance, the *Liturgy of S. James* contains the phrase, 'We sinners, mindful of His life-giving sufferings, His saving cross and His death and burial,' between the recital of the words of institution and the invocation of the Holy Ghost.[3] When the end of the sixth century has been reached, S. Gregory the Great expressly says that the Eucharistic sacrifice is a mystical representation and a renewal in mystery of the Passion. 'He who in Himself rising from the dead dieth

[1] S. Chrysostom, *De Coem. et Cruce*, 3.

[2] S. Augustine, *In Ps.* xxxiii. *Enar.*, i. 6.

[3] *Liturgy of S. James* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 52).

no more, still by means of this sacrifice suffers again in his own mystery on our behalf. For as often as we offer to Him the sacrifice of His Passion, so often we renew His Passion to ourselves, to set us free.'[1] 'This victim in a unique way saves the soul from eternal destruction, which in mystery renews for us the death of the only-begotten Son, who, though He rising from the dead dieth no more, and death shall not again have dominion over Him, yet living in Himself immortally and incorruptibly is again sacrificed on our behalf in this mystery of the sacred oblation.'[2] S. Gregory certainly does not mean that at the time of the Eucharist there is any physical renewal of our Lord's sufferings or any repetition of His death; he clearly does mean that there is a mysterious presentation to the Father of the Passion and death of His Incarnate Son.

The theology of the patristic period does not limit the reference in the Eucharist to our Lord's death. The scope of it includes also His Resurrection and Ascension and life in heaven. When S. Ignatius has said that 'the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins,' he immediately adds, 'which the Father of His goodness raised up.'[3] S. Irenæus implies that the action of Christians on earth in the Eucharistic sacrifice is joined with that which our Lord is now doing in

[1] S. Gregory the Great, *In Ev. Hom.*, II. xxxvii. 7.
[2] *Idem*, *Dial.*, iv. 58.
[3] S. Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, 6.

heaven. 'There is then an altar in the heavens, for thither our prayers and our offerings are directed; and a temple, as John says in the Revelation.'[1] Tertullian, in describing the priesthood of our Lord, makes special reference to it as existing after the Resurrection. 'That Jesus is the Christ, the Priest of God the Father Most High, who at His first coming came in human form, passible, in lowliness, even unto His Passion, being made Himself a victim in every way for us all, who after His Resurrection was clad with a garment down to the feet and named a Priest for ever of God the Father.'[2] Origen explains at great length the typical significance of the acts of the Jewish high priest on the Day of Atonement and the correspondence between them and the stages of the offering of Christ, and shows how our Lord ascended into heaven to present His sacrifice to the Father and offers at the heavenly altar the incense which Christians put into His hands.[3] That the Eucharist is in Origen's mind when he so writes appears from the words: 'As for thee who hast come to Christ the true High Priest, who with His own blood has made God propitious to thee and has reconciled thee to the Father, cling not thou to the blood of the flesh, but learn rather the blood of the Word, and hear Him saying to thee, This is My blood which shall be poured out for you for the

[1] S. Irenæus, *C. Hær.*, IV. xviii. 6.
[2] Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.*, 14.
[3] Origen, *In Lev. Hom.*, ix.

remission of sins. He who has been initiated in the mysteries knows both the flesh and the blood of the Word of God.'[1] S. Ambrose, after speaking of the Eucharistic offering in connection with the Passion of Christ,[2] goes on to say of the oblation in heaven that Christ 'Himself offers Himself as Priest that He may remit our sins, here in symbol,[3] there in truth, where He intercedes for us with the Father as our advocate.'[4] S. Chrysostom takes pains to emphasise the unique character of the sacrifice of Christ and that the Eucharist is the memorial of this one sacrifice,[5] and links what the Church does on earth with the high-priestly oblation of our Lord in heaven. 'Our High Priest is above, and much better than those among the Jews, not only in the manner, but also in the place, and in the tabernacle, and in the covenant, and in the Person. . . . As much difference as there is between Aaron and Christ, so much is there between us and the Jews. For, behold, we have our Victim above, our Priest above, our Sacrifice above. Let us therefore offer such sacrifices as can be presented on that altar.'[6] S. Augustine refers repeatedly to our

[1] *Op. cit.*, ix. 10. [2] See the passage quoted on p. 63, *supra*.

[3] For this use of the word 'symbol' to denote that which is what it signifies, compare p. 50, *supra*. S. Ambrose here and elsewhere contrasts the 'shadow' (*umbra*) of the Jewish Law, the 'symbol' (*imago*) of Christian worship, and the 'truth' (*veritas*) which is in heaven.

[4] S. Ambrose, *De Officiis*, i. 248.

[5] See, *e.g.*, S. Chrysostom, *In Ep. ad Heb. Hom.*, xvii. 3.

[6] *Op. cit.*, xi. 2, 3.

Lord's work in heaven in connection with the Holy Eucharist,[1] and compares His intercession at the right hand of the Father with the offering of the Jewish sacrifice within the veil on the Day of Atonement. For instance, he says, 'Thou art the Priest, Thou art the Victim, Thou art the Offerer, Thou art That which is offered. He is Himself the Priest who has now entered into the parts within the veil, and alone there of those who have worn flesh makes intercession for us. In the type of which thing in that first people and in that first temple, one priest entered into the Holy of Holies, all the people stood without, and he who alone entered into the parts within the veil offered sacrifice for the people standing without.'[2] The Liturgies commemorate the Resurrection and Ascension and heavenly life of Christ as well as His death. To give one instance, again, selected out of many, the *Liturgy of S. James*, after the commemoration of the Passion and death, proceeds to mention 'the resurrection from the dead on the third day, and the ascension into heaven, and the session on the right hand of God the Father, and the glorious and terrible second coming' of our Lord.[3] And as S. Gregory the Great speaks of the Eucharist as a renewal in mystery of the Passion and death of Christ, so also he describes it as one with that perpetual

[1] See, *e.g.*, S. Augustine, *Serm.*, cccli. 7; *In Ps.* xxv. *Enar.*, ii. 10.

[2] *Idem*, *In Ps.* lxiv. *Enar.*, 6.

[3] *Liturgy of S. James* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 52, 53).

sacrifice which our Lord ever offers in heaven. 'In the very hour of the sacrifice at the voice of the priest the heavens are opened, in that mystery of Jesus Christ the bands of the angels are present, things lowest are brought into communion with things highest, things earthly are joined with things heavenly, and the things that are seen and those that are unseen become one.'[1] 'Every day Job ceases not to offer sacrifice, because without intermission the Redeemer offers a burnt-offering on our behalf, who without ceasing presents to the Father His Incarnation for us. For His Incarnation is itself the offering of our cleansing, and, when He shows Himself as Man, He washes away by His intervention the sins of man. And by the mystery of His humanity He offers a perpetual sacrifice, because those things also which He cleanses are eternal.'[2]

The Eucharist, then, according to the teaching of the Fathers, is the presentation by the Christian Church of that one abiding sacrifice which our Lord offered on the cross in the humiliation of His death, and ever offers in heaven in the glory of His risen and ascended life. And as Christians in receiving the Sacrament are partakers of Christ, they enter into most intimate contact with this sacrifice. To communicate, says S. Chrysostom, is to 'touch the holy sacrifice.'[3] 'Christians,' teaches S. Augustine,

[1] S. Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, iv. 58.
[2] *Idem*, *Mor.*, i. 32.
[3] S. Chrysostom, *De Bapt. Christi*, 4.

'celebrate the memorial of the completed sacrifice in the most sacred oblation and communion of the body and blood of Christ.'[1] By the sacrifice is accomplished, says the same Father, more than once, 'that we inhere in God with a holy fellowship.'[2] In the words of the *Liturgy of S. Basil*, 'Now has been finished and perfected, so far as in us lies, O Christ our God, the mystery of Thy dispensation. For we have held the memorial of Thy death, we have seen the figure of Thy resurrection, we have been filled with Thy endless life.'[3]

[1] S. Augustine, *C. Faust.*, xx. 18.

[2] *Idem*, *De Civ. Dei*, x. 5, 6.

[3] *Liturgy of S. Basil* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 411).

CHAPTER VI

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARISTIC PRESENCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

It has been seen that throughout the age of the Fathers the consecrated bread and wine were believed to be the body and blood of Christ, but that no exact definitions were given as to the method of this sacred presence. As we pass from the end of the patristic period to the beginning of the Middle Ages, the most important writer is S. John of Damascus, whose death took place probably between A.D. 759 and A.D. 767. In his theology, the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ by the operation of the power of the Holy Ghost. By the time when he wrote, such words as 'symbol' had lost the meaning which they had in the writings of the Fathers,[1] and had come to mean the signs and representatives of something absent.[2] Therefore, in giving effect to the patristic doctrine that the consecrated bread and wine

[1] See pp. 50, 67, *supra.*

[2] It is possible that the prominence of the ikons in the East may have had much to do with this.

are really Christ's body and blood, S. John was obliged to deny the accuracy of the phraseology which some of the Fathers had used when they described the elements as the signs of the body and blood. In a passage of great vigour, after declaring the almighty power of God as shown in the Creation and in the Incarnation, he proceeds, 'As all things whatsoever that God did, He did by the operation of the Holy Ghost, so also now the operation of the Holy Ghost performs the things which are beyond nature, which faith alone can grasp. "How shall this be to me," says the holy Virgin, "seeing I know not a man?" The archangel Gabriel answers, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." And now thou askest, How does the bread become the body of Christ, and the wine and the water the blood of Christ? I also say to thee, the Holy Ghost comes upon them and makes them those things which are beyond reason and thought. . . . The bread itself and the wine are transmade into the body and blood of God. But if you inquire as to the method how this comes to be, it is enough for you to hear that it is by means of the Holy Ghost, as also from the holy Mother of God by means of the Holy Ghost the Lord took to Himself flesh to be His own. And we know no more than that the word of God is true and active and almighty, while the method is inscrutable. . . . The bread that is offered and the wine and water are

by means of the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost supernaturally transmade into the body and blood of Christ, and are not two things but are one and the same thing. . . . The bread and the wine are not a figure of the body and blood of Christ (God forbid), but the body of the Lord itself that is filled with Godhead, of the Lord Himself who said, "This is My"—not figure of the body but—"body," and not figure of the blood but "blood."'[1]

Throughout the Middle Ages in the East the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist was stated in much the same way as by S. John of Damascus. The chief writings of Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, who died in A.D. 1107, are commentaries on the New Testament. In the course of these, his belief on this subject is made clear. Communion is 'the mystic reception of the body,' 'the flesh,' 'of the Lord.' 'He who eats' Christ is 'transformed' into Him.[2] The bread and the wine are not 'figures' of the body and blood of our Lord, but the body and blood themselves.[3] 'That which is in the chalice is what flowed from the side' of Christ; 'what the Lord suffered not on the cross (for a bone of Him was not broken), this He now bears, being broken for our sake'; [4] the bread and the wine

[1] S. John of Damascus, *De Fid. Orth.*, iv. 13.

[2] Theophylact, on S. John vi. 27, 48-51, 56-58.

[3] *Idem*, on S. Matt. xxvi. 28; S. Mark xiv. 22-25; S. John vi. 48-51.

[4] *Idem*, on 1 Cor. x. 16. The phraseology here used by Theophylact may mark a tendency to a materialistic view; cf. pp. 81-83, *infra*.

are 'transmade' and 'changed' 'by means of the mystic blessing and the descent of the Holy Ghost' into the body and blood of Christ.[1] Euthymius Zigabenus, also called Zigadenus, a monk of Constantinople who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, died about A.D. 1118. In his comment on our Lord's words at the institution of the Eucharist, he says, 'He did not say, These are the symbols of My body and blood, but, These are My body and My blood. . . . As supernaturally He added deity to the flesh which He took, so ineffably He transmakes these into His life-giving body itself and His precious blood itself, and into the grace of them.'[2] In his book entitled *The Dogmatic Panoply of the Orthodox Faith*, he writes, 'The body, which was taken from the holy Virgin, is really united with Godhead, not that the body which ascended comes down out of heaven, but that the bread itself and the wine are transmade into the body and blood of God. If you ask how this comes to pass, it is enough for you to know that it is by means of the Holy Ghost, as also the Lord in Himself took flesh from the holy Mother of God by means of the Holy Ghost. . . . The bread and the wine and water, by means of the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost, are supernaturally trans-

[1] Theophylact, on S. Matt. xxvi. 28; S. Mark xiv. 22-25; S. John vi. 48-51.

[2] Euthymius Zigabenus, on S. Matt. xxvi. 28.

made into the body and the blood of Christ, and are not two but one and the same.'[1] In the middle of the twelfth century the writings of Nicolas, the Bishop of Methone in the Peloponnesus, contain the same doctrine. The bread and wine, he says, are 'transformed by the operation of the Holy Ghost into the body and blood of Christ';[2] and the Holy Ghost makes 'those who receive these in faith to be of one body with Christ and partakers of Him.'[3] In 'the mystic and bloodless rite' 'the bread and the cup when consecrated are transmade into the body and blood of the Lord'; and the 'object' and 'end' of the institution and continuance of the Eucharist are 'participation in Christ' and the 'eternal life' of those who thus 'partake' of Him.[4] Nicolas asserts that communicants are vouchsafed the 'reception of the divine nature';[5] and adds, 'What is the bread? Indeed, the body of Christ. What do they who receive it become? Indeed, the body of Christ. For, by partaking of the body of Christ, we also become it. For, since our whole flesh was corrupted by sin, we are in need of new flesh.'[6] He rests his belief on the power of God, the words of Christ, who is God, and the tradition of the Church. If, he

[1] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panop. Dogm.*, tit. xxv.

[2] Nicolas of Methone, *Orationes duæ c. Hær. Dicentium Sacrificium pro nobis salutare non Trisypostatæ Divinitati*, p. 51. (This work was published at Leipsic in 1865 from a MS. at Moscow.)

[3] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 61.

[4] *Idem*, *Ad eos qui hæsitant* (Migne, *P. G.*, CXXXV. 509, 512).

[5] Ἐκθέωσις. [6] *Idem*, *op. cit.* (CXXXV. 512).

maintains, the birth from the Virgin, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the other wonders of our Lord's life are believed, there is no good reason for disbelieving the 'change' which is accomplished in the Eucharist.[1] Two centuries later, in the middle of the fourteenth century, Nicolas Cabasilas was Metropolitan of Thessalonica. In the fourth book of his treatise *On Life in Christ* he expounded at length the completeness of the union with Christ which is bestowed on communicants. In his *Explanation of the Holy Liturgy* he taught that the result of consecration is 'the change of the gifts into the sacred body and blood';[2] that this change is accomplished by the work of the Holy Ghost, and the consecration effected by the invocation of Him;[3] that Christ 'sanctifies the gifts and changes them into His body and blood';[4] and that 'God takes the gifts to be His own in such a way that He makes them the body and blood of the Only-begotten Son,' and 'receives our bread and wine and gives back to us the Son Himself.'[5] In the Definition of the Council of Florence, assented to in A.D. 1439 by the representatives of the Eastern Church, an incidental reference was made to the effect of consecration in causing the bread to be the body of Christ.[6] The period of the Middle Ages supplies continuous testi-

[1] Nicolas of Methone, *op. cit.* (cxxxv. 513).
[2] Cabasilas, *Sac. Liturg. Interp.*, I.
[3] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, 27. [4] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, 49. [5] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, 47.
[6] *Def. Conc. Florent.* (Hardouin, *Concilia*, ix. 421, 422).

mony from the East to the belief that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ. Traces of any conflicting opinion being allowed in the Church are sought for in vain.

The history of the doctrine of the Eucharistic presence of Christ differs in some important particulars in the West. There is much more controversy. As a result of controversy, there is greater explicitness and fuller definition. The central assertion of the presence of the body and blood is the same in the West as in the East.

In the ninth century some controversy arose in consequence of the publication of the treatise of Paschasius Radbert entitled *Of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* Like S. John of Damascus, Paschasius declared that by the almighty power of the Creator and the operation of God the Holy Ghost, it was possible for the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of Christ; and that the words of our Lord at the institution of the Sacrament showed that this change, thus seen to be possible, actually takes place. S. John of Damascus had said that the consecrated elements 'are not two things but are one and the same thing.'[1] Paschasius pushed this line of thought further, used the word 'figure' of the bread and wine in such a context as to imply that after consecration they cease to possess actual existence, and denied that there is anything else in the con-

[1] See p. 73, *supra.*

secrated Sacrament but the body and blood of Christ. 'Because He has willed it, though remaining in the figure of bread and wine, these things must be believed to be entirely and nothing else than the flesh and blood of Christ after consecration, . . . and, that I may speak still more wonderfully, to be plainly no other flesh than that which was born of Mary and suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb.'[1] This explicit identification of the unseen reality in the Eucharist with the 'flesh' 'which was born of Mary and suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb' was rejected by Rabanus Maurus, the Archbishop of Mainz, and Ratramn, a monk of Paschasius's own abbey of Corbey.[2] These two writers agree in denying that the body present in the Eucharist is the same body as that in which Christ lived, died, rose, and ascended. That the former of them held that the consecrated elements are in some sense the body and blood of Christ seems clear; of the latter this could only be said with much qualification and many explanations.[3]

[1] Paschasius Radbert, *De Corpore et Sanguine Dom.*, i. 2. The word 'figure' (*figura*) would not of itself necessarily mean that Paschasius rejected the continued existence of the bread and wine because of the patristic use of such words (see pp. 50, 67, *supra*), and because of his own use of it in iv. 2. But the context of the word as quoted above, and other statements (ii. 6, viii. 2, x. 1, xi. 2, xii. 1, xiii. 2, xvi., xx. 3) seem conclusive that he did reject it.

[2] See Rabanus Maurus, *Ep. ad Heribald.*, 33; Ratramn, *De Corpore et Sanguine Dom.*, 57.

[3] See Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, pp. 239-247.

It is probable that by the eleventh century the teaching of Paschasius was that most usually accepted in the West. It was challenged as contrary to reason and to the writings of the Fathers by Berengar, the Director of the Cathedral School at Tours, who became Archdeacon of Angers about A.D. 1040. In a letter addressed to Lanfranc, the Prior of Bec, who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury, he declared his assent to 'the opinions of John the Scot[1] about the Eucharist,' and his rejection of those of Paschasius; and added that, if Lanfranc regarded John the Scot as a heretic, he must similarly condemn Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, as well as other Fathers.[2] This letter was read at a Council held at Rome under Pope Leo IX. in A.D. 1050; and a sentence of excommunication was passed upon Berengar in his absence.[3] In the same year another Council was held at Vercelli. Berengar was summoned to it, but could not appear, as he was put in prison by King Henry I. of France. The Council condemned 'the book of John the Scot on the Eucharist' and the opinion of Berengar.[4] Shortly after he was released. Four years later he was cited to appear before a Council to be held at Tours

[1] There is some doubt whether 'the book of John the Scot,' that is Erigena, was really the treatise of Ratramn referred to above. On this subject see Gore, *op. cit.*, p. 240; and Miss Alice Gardner, *Studies in John the Scot*, pp. 85-93.

[2] Hardouin, *Concilia*, vi. (1), 1015, 1016.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Op. cit.*, 1017, 1018.

under the presidency of Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII., as Papal Legate. Berengar was present, and affirmed, either as the expression of what he really thought or under pressure, that 'the bread and wine of the altar are, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ.'[1] In A.D. 1059, when Nicolas II. was Pope, another council was held at Rome. Berengar was again present, and gave some kind of assent, under compulsion, to a document drawn up by Cardinal Humbert, which asserted in the most unequivocal terms and in language of a materialistic type the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.[2] He afterwards continued to express his former opinions; and, twenty years later, he was again summoned to Rome to attend a council held in A.D. 1079 under Pope Gregory VII. After some resistance and verbal quibbling he assented to a statement that the bread and wine 'are substantially changed into the real and true and life-giving flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that, after consecration, there is the real body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, and which was offered for the salvation of the world, and hung upon the cross, and which sits at the right hand of the Father, and the real blood of Christ which flowed from his side, not only by way of sign and of the virtue of the Sacrament, but in truth of nature and reality of substance.'[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, 1041, 1042. [2] *Op. cit.*, 1064. [3] *Op. cit.*, 1585.

Between the council of A.D. 1059 and that of A.D. 1079 several important treatises were published. That of Lanfranc, entitled *Of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, is a defence of the doctrine expressed in the declaration drawn up by Cardinal Humbert and accepted by Berengar in A.D. 1059, and an attack upon the latter, whom he represents as having taught that the Sacrament is merely a memorial of Christ.[1] In Berengar's reply, *Of the Holy Supper*, he defended his appeal to logic and maintained that in religion majorities may often be wrong; and in his statements about his own opinions affirmed the reality of the presence of Christ no less clearly than the continued existence of the bread and wine.[2] Witmund, a Norman monk, afterwards Archbishop of Aversa, in his treatise, *Of the Reality of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, mentioned two schools of thought among the followers of Berengar, and associated Berengar himself with that which, while denying any change in the substance of the bread and wine, asserted the presence of the body and blood of Christ.[3] Against both schools of Berengarians Witmund maintains that the body and blood of Christ are present by means of a change in the essence of the bread and wine, and that the body is eaten by the teeth of Christians.[4] He allows the possibility of the body of

[1] Lanfranc, *De Corpore et Sanguine Dom.*, 22.
[2] Berengar, *De Sacra Cœna*, pp. 51, 248 (Vischer's edition).
[3] Witmund, *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate in Euch.*, i. 8.
[4] *Op. cit.*, i. 9, 10.

Christ being divided into portions, though inclining to the opinion that the whole body of Christ is in every Mass and in every fragment of the consecrated bread.[1] He declares that all communicants alike, the bad as well as the good, receive the body of Christ, but he who communicates unworthily receives it 'bodily' only and not 'spiritually' also.[2]

An attempt was made by Hildebert, who became Metropolitan of Tours in A.D. 1124, to express the doctrine for which Lanfranc and Humbert had contended in less materialistic language than they had used and to free it from objections which had been urged. He drew out a parallel between the coming of God in human fashion in the Incarnation and the coming of the Man Jesus Christ in a divine way in the Eucharist. He laid much emphasis on the spiritual character of this Eucharistic coming, and on the different manner of the presence of Christ in heaven, and on the altar. He affirmed that the whole and undivided body of Christ is in every particle of the consecrated elements; and that 'the substance of the bread and of the wine is changed into the substance of the body and blood of the Lord,' though 'the accidents of the bread and of the wine' 'remain unchanged, without the substance of bread and the substance of wine.'[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, i. 15-18. [2] *Op. cit.*, iii. 51.

[3] Hildebert, *Brevis Tractatus de Sacramento Altaris*, 1, 2, 6, 7. See Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i. 46-47, for the connection between the philosophic theory of Realism and the

Much the same position as that taken up by Hildebert was adopted by Peter Lombard, the best known theologian of the twelfth century. He taught that when the words 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood' were said the bread and the wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ, into that 'flesh of Christ which He took from the Virgin and the blood which he shed for us.'[1] He maintained that 'the only substance' in the consecrated Sacrament 'is that of the body and blood of the Lord'; that 'after consecration no substance of bread or wine is there'; and that 'the body of Christ is taken by the good and by the bad, but by the good to salvation, by the bad to destruction.'[2] He recognised the difficulty of defining whether this change of the substance is 'substantial' or 'of some other kind,' and of questions which arise as to the relations of the 'accidents.'[3] He rejected the opinion that in the fraction there was any division of the body of Christ, and inclined to the belief that the fraction is of the species of bread, not of the substance of the body.[4]

The term 'Transubstantiation' and the corresponding verb appear to have come into use in the eleventh or twelfth century.[5] There is no evidence

'distinction between the substance—the impalpable universal which was held to inhere in every particular included under it—and the accidents or sensible properties which came into existence when the pure Form clothed itself in Matter.'

[1] Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, IV. viii. 3, 4, x. 1, 4.
[2] *Op. cit.*, IV. ix. 3, xi. 4, xii. 1.
[3] *Op. cit.*, IV. ix. 1, xii. 1-5.
[4] *Op. cit.*, IV. xii. 2-5.
[5] See Note IV. on p. 293.

whether, as originally employed, they were intended to denote the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ or were used in a more general sense to express the doctrine that the bread and wine are, after consecration, the body and blood. Early in the thirteenth century the verb was used in the decree about the Eucharist assented to by the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215), in which it was said that 'the bread is transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood.'[1] This decree has most usually been interpreted as expressly affirming the doctrine of the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ in such a way that there no longer remains any substance of bread and wine in the consecrated elements. There can be little doubt that this doctrine had by this time come to be held by most Western theologians. But it may be questioned whether the phrases used in the decree were meant to commit the Church to more than that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ. Pope Innocent III., while holding as a certain truth that the substance of the bread and wine is changed by the consecration into the substance of the body and blood, so that of the bread and wine only the accidents and properties remain, has been thought by some writers to have deliberately refrained in his book *Of*

[1] Fourth Lateran Council, 1 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 15-18). See Note V. on p. 293 for the text of the decree.

the Mystery of the Mass from charging with heresy the opinion that the substance of the bread and wine remains in the elements which have become by consecration the body and blood.[1] And in the absence of evidence as to the exact meaning of the words 'Transubstantiation' and 'transubstantiate' at this time, it is not well to be positive as to the force, in this respect, of the statement to which the Fourth Lateran Council gave its assent.[2]

Later in the thirteenth century the doctrine usually held by the schoolmen was expressed with characteristic fulness and clearness by S. Thomas Aquinas. 'The real body and blood of Christ,' he taught, 'are in the Sacrament.' They 'cannot be discerned by the senses or the understanding,' but are to be recognised 'only by faith which rests upon the authority of God.' The opinion that 'after the consecration the substance of bread and wine remains in the Sacrament' 'cannot be maintained,' and 'is to be rejected as heretical'; this substance is not indeed 'annihilated,' nor is it resolved into some more elementary material condition, but it is 'changed' into the body and blood of Christ.[3] This 'change' is 'wholly supernatural'; it is 'effected simply by the power of God'; it is 'substantial,' and

[1] Innocent III., *De Myst. Missæ*, iv. 7-9.

[2] The different opinions may be seen in Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*, pp. 17, 18; Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, ii. 166-170 (third edition); Franzelin, *Tract. de SS. Euch. Sacram. et Sacrif.*, pp. 202, 203.

[3] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxxv. 1, 2, 3.

'by a distinctive name can be called Transubstantiation.'[1] The Transubstantiation is such that it is of the substance only, so that, 'when the consecration has taken place, all the accidents of bread and wine remain.'[2] It is a necessary part of the Catholic faith that 'the whole Christ is in the Sacrament,' and that He is wholly in each species and in every fragment of them.[3] Christ is not present in the Sacrament 'as in a place' and 'locally.' Hence it follows that Christ 'is not moved' in the Sacrament, 'so far as He Himself is concerned,' but only 'in an accidental way' 'in relation to the movement of that in which He is'; and that He is in it 'after an immovable manner.'[4] The 'accidents' of the bread and wine which remain in the consecrated Sacrament are 'without a subject'; they can affect external objects, and can become corrupted, and can impart physical nourishment because this power has, in the act of consecration, been attached by a miracle to the accident of dimensive quantity;[5] they can be broken, and, when the fraction takes place, it is of them, not of the body of Christ.[6]

Three motives may be discerned in the treatment of the doctrine of the presence in the Eucharist by the schoolmen. First, they were intent on preserving the traditional teaching, inherited from the patristic period, that the consecrated Sacrament is the body

[1] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxv. 4.
[2] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxv. 5.
[3] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxvi. 1, 2, 3.
[4] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxvi. 5, 6.
[5] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxvii. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.
[6] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxvii. 7.

and blood of Christ. Secondly, they wished to avoid the materialistic phraseology and thought which had been prominent in the eleventh century. In the third place, they were desirous of stating the doctrine of the Eucharist in such a way that it would harmonise with the dominant Aristotelianism, and be appropriate in their whole theological and philosophical system.[1]

The practical issue of the work of Pope Innocent III. and the Fourth Lateran Council, subsequently aided by the teaching of S. Thomas Aquinas, was that the affirmation of Transubstantiation came to be regarded as the right and necessary way of expressing the belief that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ. A little earlier, in the twelfth century, while theologians were already tending in this direction, Rupert of Deutz had strongly maintained the continued existence of the bread and wine on the grounds that it is not the method of the Holy Ghost to destroy, and of the analogy of the Incarnation.[2] After the

[1] For the influence of Aristotle on the schoolmen see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe*, i. 353-368: on page 363 Dr. Rashdall says, 'the Dominicans conceived and executed the idea of pressing not merely (as of old) the Aristotelian Logic but the whole Aristotelian Philosophy into the service of the Church.'

[2] Rupert of Deutz, *De Trin. et Operibus ejus*, In Exod. ii. 10. Cf. the attack on Rupert in Bellarmine, *De Sacr. Euch.*, iii. 11, 15. It should be remembered that some theologians who asserted the change of the substance of the bread and the wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ denied that this involved the destruction of the substance of the bread and the wine: see, *e.g.*, S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxxv. 3.

theory of Transubstantiation was more fully established, it did not escape protest. About A.D. 1300 the Dominican writer John of Paris asserted the possibility of believing 'the real and actual presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar' without holding Transubstantiation. In this he apparently expressed the opinion of other divines at Paris as well as his own.[1] His treatise was condemned by the Bishop of Paris, and he was himself deprived of his professorship. He determined to appeal to Pope Clement V., but died in A.D. 1306 before he had done so.

A little later than John of Paris, Durandus of S. Pourçain, also a Dominican, without very definitely opposing the ordinary form of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, expressed as his own opinion a theory differing from it as to philosophical details; and he regarded the question of the method of the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ as open. This Durandus, who is to be distinguished from the two Bishops of Mende of the same name in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was a professor of theology in the University of Paris, afterwards Bishop of Puy-en-Velay, and then of Meaux. He died in A.D. 1333. In his treatise on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard he asserted the

[1] See his statement in his *Determinatio de modo existendi corporis Christi in sacramento altaris alio quam ille quem tenet Ecclesia*, pp. 85, 86 (edition of 1686).

'change of the substance' of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ as true and as taught by the Church, though he allowed that other methods of the presence of the body of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament are, in the abstract, possible.[1]

William of Occam, a native of Ockham in Surrey, known as the 'Invincible Doctor,' was a member of the Franciscan Order. Like John of Paris and Durandus of S. Pourçain, he was a professor of theology in the University of Paris. In A.D. 1322 he became the English Provincial of the Franciscans. From A.D. 1328 to A.D. 1347, when he died, he took refuge from the hostility of Pope John XXII. at the court of Lewis, the King of Bavaria. In philosophy he was a nominalist.

Among other doctrines William of Occam examined that of the Holy Eucharist. On this subject he claimed that he had no intention of diverging from the current doctrine taught at Rome. He appears to have departed from the general principle affirmed by him of the absolute validity of the teaching of Holy Scripture and the universal Church alone on the ground of a supposed revelation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation to the Church at some later time than the period of the Fathers. Thus, while he allows that there is nothing in the New Testament which is inconsistent with the continuance of the substance

[1] Durandus of S. Pourçain, *In Sent. Lomb.*, IV. xi. 1; cf. xi. 3 (5).

of the bread and the wine after consecration, and that, apart from any decision of the Church, it would be reasonable to suppose that it does so continue to be, and that differing opinions on this point have from of old been held within the Church, he adds the definite statement: 'The substance of the bread and the wine ceases to be, and the accidents alone remain, and under them the body of Christ begins to be. This is clear to the Church by some revelation, as I suppose; and therefore the Church has so decided.'[1]

William of Occam then, on the ground of Church authority, accepted the ordinary teaching of his day in the Western Church, that in the consecrated elements the substance of the bread and the wine has been changed into the body of Christ, and that of the bread and the wine only the accidents remain. That he could do so, and at the same time maintain the conformity with reason of the opinion of the continued existence of the substance of the bread and the wine in the consecrated Sacrament, was the more possible because of the depreciation of human reason which characterised the thought of his school.[2]

The latter half of the fourteenth century was

[1] Occam, *Quodlib. Sept.*, iv. 34, 35.

[2] See Gieseler, *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 170, 171 (English translation). For a view that Occam represented his real opinions as theological experiments and that his apparent agreement with the ordinary Church teaching of his time was only a device, see Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vi. 165 (English translation).

marked by the teaching of John Wyclif, at one time Master of Balliol, and later the incumbent of several benefices in succession, of which the last was the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where, after ten years' residence, he died in A.D. 1384. Like Occam, Wyclif had a mind of the scholastic temper. Unlike him, he was a realist. Both divines agreed in assigning the highest value to the authority of Holy Scripture. Wyclif went far beyond Occam in his rejection of the authority of the Church.

The most notable feature in the teaching of Wyclif was his doctrine of 'dominion.' The maxim that 'dominion is founded in grace' was made the starting-point of a theory that, since every temporal or spiritual possession is the gift of God, and since no one whom mortal sin excludes from a state of grace is capable of receiving any gift from God, therefore the bishop or priest who is in mortal sin can perform no spiritual action, and the proprietor who is similarly out of a state of grace does not really own his estate. Closely connected with this theory was his denial of the ordinary doctrine of the visible Church and his affirmation that the Church consists of those who will ultimately be saved.

These theoretical positions and his attacks on the ecclesiastical system and the morals of the Pope, bishops, and clergy, led Wyclif to the consideration and discussion of the doctrine of the Eucharist. He does not appear to have denied that the word

Transubstantiation might be used in an innocent sense. He affirmed repeatedly that the body of Christ is present in the consecrated Sacrament. He vehemently rejected the current form of that doctrine; and denied any such change of the substance of the bread and the wine into the body of Christ at the consecration as would imply that after consecration the substance of the bread and the wine no longer exists, and that the body of Christ is the only substance and is present and is received with the accidents of the bread and the wine.[1]

The 'confession' and subsequent explanation of Sir John Oldcastle, made in A.D. 1413, are of some interest. In them Oldcastle declared his belief that 'the most worshipful Sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the Blessed Virgin, our Lady Saint Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven';[2] and that in the Eucharist there are both 'the real body of Christ' and 'real bread.'[3]

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 105, 115-117, 131; *Trialogus*, iv. 1-10. Cf. a fuller statement, with quotations, in *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1902, pp. 450-453.

[2] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 438; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 354. The confession was in English. The spelling has been modernised above.

[3] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 444; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 356; Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 206. Tennyson's expression of the teaching of Oldcastle in *Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham*,

> 'He veil'd Himself in flesh, and now He veils
> His flesh in bread, body and bread together,'

will be known to many.

In the early part of the fifteenth century the influence of the opinions of Wyclif in Bohemia was great. But it appears to have been less with regard to the Holy Eucharist than with regard to other matters. John Hus, while agreeing with Wyclif on many subjects, seems to have maintained belief in the current form of the doctrine of Transubstantiation;[1] and it is doubtful whether the charges brought against Jerome of Prague of denying both it and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament were true.[2]

In Germany, about half a century later, John Wessel, who was born in A.D. 1429 and died in A.D. 1489, in early life a realist, afterwards a nominalist, so far departed from the doctrine of the Church that he does not appear to have recognised any essential difference between the presence of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament and that which may be found elsewhere. He compares the eating of Christ in Communion with that eating of Him of which 'the Magdalen' partook when she sat at His feet; and teaches that he who believes eats the body of Christ without Communion.[3] Such statements, though susceptible of different interpretations in themselves, were apparently intended by Wessel to describe the Eucharistic presence of Christ as being of the same

[1] See Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vii. 309, 322, 356, 370.

[2] See Hagenbach, *History of Christian Doctrines*, ii. 361 (English translation).

[3] John Wessel, *De Sacr. Euch.*, see especially pp. 10, 24, 28.

kind as His presence at any time in the devout prayer of a believer. Consequently, they had a very different sense from the phrases in the mediæval office books in which, following the words of S. Augustine,[1] the priest was directed to say to a sick man who was unable to receive Communion, 'Brother, in this case real faith is sufficient for thee, and good intention; only believe, and thou hast eaten.'[2]

Throughout the period from the thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, the attempts of individuals to find or assert a doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist other than that usually held were met with stern repression by the authorities of the Western Church. In the early years of the fourteenth century, John of Paris, as has been already stated, was deprived of his professorship by the Bishop of Paris for a guarded questioning of the doctrine that the substance of the bread and wine does not remain in the consecrated Sacrament. In A.D. 1381, in the controversy with Wyclif, the University of Oxford made a solemn declaration that, 'By the sacramental words, duly pronounced by a priest, the bread and wine on the altar are transubstantiated or substantially changed into the real body and blood of Christ, so that after consecration there do not remain in the venerable Sacrament the material bread

[1] S. Augustine, *In Joan. Ev. Tract.*, xxvi. 1.

[2] See Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, i. 89 (edition of 1846). For the 'symbolical Communion' of the middle ages, see Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, an earlier volume of this series, p. 236.

and wine, which were there before, in the two substances or natures, but only in the species of the same, under which species the real body and blood of Christ are actually contained, not only symbolically or figuratively, but essentially, substantially, and corporally, in such a way that Christ is really there in His own proper bodily presence.'[1]

In A.D. 1382 the Council of London condemned, as not only 'erroneous' but also 'heretical,' the statements ascribed to Wyclif to the effect that 'the substance of the bread and the wine remains in the consecrated Sacrament'; that 'the accidents do not remain without a subject'; that 'Christ is not present identically, really, and actually in a proper bodily presence'; and that the Sacraments administered by a bishop or priest in mortal sin are not valid.[2]

In A.D. 1413 Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury delivered to Sir John Oldcastle a statement of doctrine declared to be obligatory in which it was said, 'The faith and the determination of Holy Church touching the Blissful Sacrament of the altar is this, that after the sacramental words be said by a priest in his Mass, the material bread that was before is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine that was before is turned into Christ's very blood, and so

[1] *Definitio facta per cancellarium et doctores Universitatis Oxoniensis de sacr. altaris*, A.D. 1381, Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, p. 59 (ii) (edition of 1679).

[2] Council of London of A.D. 1382, Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 1890, 1891.

there leaveth on the altar no material bread, nor material wine, the which were there before the saying of the sacramental words.'[1]

In A.D. 1415 and 1416 the Council of Constance included the statements about the Holy Eucharist ascribed to Wyclif by the Council of London of A.D. 1382 in the list of propositions which it condemned;[2] asserted that 'the whole body and blood of Christ are really contained under the species of bread as well as under the species of wine';[3] placed the statements ascribed to Wyclif among those which Jerome of Prague was required to anathematise;[4] and connected the doctrine of 'the transubstantiation of the bread into the body' with his ultimate condemnation.[5]

[1] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 441, 442; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 355. This statement was in English. The spelling has been modernised above.

[2] Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 299, 302; cf. 909, 915.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 381. [4] *Op. cit.*, 457. [5] *Op. cit.*, 565.

CHAPTER VII

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

There is little about the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the writings of S. John of Damascus. He quotes our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament as they are given in the *Liturgy of S. James*, so as to include the remarkable phrase,[1] 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the death of the Son of Man and confess His resurrection, until He come'; and he says of the Eucharist, 'With bread and wine did Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God, receive Abraham as he was returning from the defeat of the strangers. That table prefigured this mystic table, as that priest was the type and figure of Christ the true High Priest. For, says Scripture, "Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Of this bread the shewbread was a figure. This is the pure sacrifice, that is the bloodless sacrifice, which the Lord through the prophet said

[1] *Liturgy of S. James* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 52).

should be offered from the rising of the sun unto its setting.'[1]

In the doctrine taught by Theophylact, the death of our Lord on the cross was a sacrifice for sin. 'The death of Christ,' he says, 'was an equivalent for the destruction of all men, and, so far as His act was concerned, He died on behalf of all'; 'He died, bearing our sins, and offering sacrifice to the Father, that He might blot them out.'[2] By this 'one sacrifice' of 'His own body' which 'Christ offered for our sins,' this 'offering of the body of Christ which was made once for all,' Christians are sanctified.[3] The 'sacrifice' is 'of such a kind and of so great power that by means of it' Christ 'once for all cleansed the world.'[4] The 'object' of His Incarnation was that He might be a high priest.[5] But His priesthood and the work of it did not end with His death. He entered into heaven for our sake, 'that He might intercede with the Father on our behalf, as also the high priest entered into the sanctuary once in the year making propitiation on behalf of the people.'[6] 'He entered' into heaven 'with a sacrifice able to appease the Father'; 'He now appears on our behalf,' 'because He entered as high priest, for His entrance took place because of our reconciliation.'[7] 'He has not ceased to be a priest' because

[1] S. John of Damascus, *De Fid. Orth.*, iv. 13.
[2] Theophylact, on Heb. ix. 28.
[3] *Op. cit.*, x. 10-19.
[4] *Op. cit.*, vii. 27.
[5] *Op. cit.*, viii. 11.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vi. 20.
[7] *Op. cit.*, ix. 24.

He sits with the dignity of God; His offering is His own body.[1] In the heavenly intercession which His abiding retention of His Manhood enables Him to offer He 'performs His high priestly work on our behalf.'[2] His high priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is associated both with the Eucharist on earth in which 'He offers Himself by means of His ministers' and with His intercession in heaven.[3] Thus, Christians possess an 'altar' and 'the bloodless sacrifice of the life-giving body' of Christ.[4] In his teaching about the Eucharistic sacrifice, therefore, the position of Theophylact is much the same as that found in the patristic period, an assertion, with little explanation, that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, and an association of it with the death of our Lord and with His priestly work in heaven.

The teaching of Euthymius Zigabenus on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice closely resembles that of Theophylact. 'Christ,' he says, 'who is king as God, became also priest as Man, when He sacrificed Himself on behalf of the remission of our sins.'[5] 'He offered Himself as a sacrifice on our behalf, when He delivered Himself up to death.'[6] So efficacious is this 'one sacrifice' that it avails 'for the remission of all the defilements of sin committed at any time

[1] *Op. cit.*, viii. 1, 3. [2] *Op. cit.*, vii. 25. [3] *Op. cit.*, vii. 3.
[4] *Op. cit.*, xiii. 10-12. Cf. on 1 Cor. xi. 24-26, where, though ἀνάμνησις is apparently interpreted of a remembrance to man, the Eucharist is called a 'sacrifice' (θυσία).
[5] Euthymius Zigabenus, on Heb. vii. 14. [6] *Op. cit.*, vii. 27.

prior to the reception of Baptism.'[1] Christ was once offered, and His sacrifice is all-prevailing.[2] He entered into heaven at His ascension 'with the sacrifice' which consisted of 'His sacrificed flesh.'[3] Before His death He had made an offering to the Father in His office as high priest after the order of Melchizedek at the time of His earnest prayer in the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane.[4] So, too, after His death and resurrection and ascension, His priestly work abides. 'When He had made His offering once for all, He sat down as Lord.'[5] But that glorious possession of high dignity does not hinder His abiding work in heaven as Man and as priest. He is an 'eternal priest'; 'even now He is the representative, as Man, on behalf of our salvation'; 'His Manhood itself beseeches the Father on our behalf';[6] 'in heaven He performs the priestly work' of 'intercession' and 'mediation':[7] it is His office, 'as our high priest, to make propitiation to the Father on our behalf.'[8] In all these acts of 'our high priest' in heaven, there is 'the same Christ' who ever 'offers His bloodless sacrifice'; and, in the Eucharist which Christians 'offer' 'on earth' 'often,' 'there are not many offerings,' but it is ever 'one and the same';[9]

[1] *Op. cit.*, vii. 27. [2] *Op. cit.*, ix. 26. [3] *Op. cit.*, ix. 25.
[4] *Op. cit.*, v. 7, 10. [5] *Op. cit.*, x. 11, 12.
[6] *Op. cit.*, vii. 25. [7] *Op. cit.*, viii. 2, 4, 6.
[8] *Op. cit.*, ix. 24.
[9] *Op. cit.*, x. 3. Both here and in his comment on 1 Cor. xi. 25, Euthymius, like Theophylact, appears to understand *ἀνάμνησις* to

for the Eucharist is 'the mystic sacrifice of the body of the Lord.'[1]

In the middle of the twelfth century Soterichus Panteugenus and others asserted that the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered to the Father alone, not to the other Persons of the Holy Trinity. This view was seen to be in conflict with the phrase in the Byzantine Liturgy in which our Lord is addressed in the words, 'Thou art He who dost offer and art offered, who dost receive and art distributed'; [2] and it was condemned at a council held at Constantinople under the Emperor Manuel Comnenus in A.D. 1156, which declared that the sacrifice is offered to the Holy Trinity, and that our Lord 'offers sacrifice as Man and receives that which is offered as God.'[3]

In connection with this controversy, two short treatises were written in A.D. 1157 by Nicolas, the Bishop of Methone.[4] In these the opinion of Soterichus is stigmatised as dividing the one Person of Christ, and so leading to Nestorianism; as making a division in the Holy Trinity, and so akin to the error

denote a remembrance to man; but he clearly regards the Eucharist as a 'sacrifice' (θυσία).

[1] *Op. cit.*, xiii. 9.

[2] *Liturgy of S. Chrysostom* (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 378). In the earlier form of this liturgy as given in the Barberini manuscript of the eighth century the phrase is: 'Thou art He who dost offer and art offered, who dost sanctify and art sanctified'; see Brightman, *op. cit.*, i. 318.

[3] See the proceedings of this council in Nicetas of Chonæ, *Thesaurus Orth. Fid.*, xxiv.

[4] See p. 75, note [2].

of Tritheism; as denying the equal glory of the Son with the Father and therefore approaching Arianism; and as certain, if these heresies should be avoided, to stumble into Eutychianism. Nicolas throughout assumes that the Eucharist is a sacrifice. He refers to our Lord's death as the sacrifice offered 'once for all,'[1] and speaks of Christ in His death on the cross 'offering Himself a living sacrifice.'[2] He mentions the 'abiding presentation' of 'the blood of salvation' which takes place on 'the heavenly altar.'[3] In the Eucharist our Lord 'as Man offers and is offered,' and 'as God, together with the Father and the Spirit, receives His own sacrifice';[4] and this act of sacrifice is closely connected with the abiding presentation in heaven[5] and our Lord's heavenly priesthood after the order of Melchizedek.[6] The sacrifice offered on earth in the Eucharist 'in time' is the same as that offered 'once for all' on the cross and 'abidingly' in heaven.[7]

Nicolas Cabasilas, the Metropolitan of Thessalonica, writing two centuries later than Nicolas of Methone, regards the various actions of the Liturgy as connected with the stages of Christ's life; and the whole rite is viewed by him as a great act of sacrifice in which there is a commemoration[8] in the Church and before

[1] P. 18 and *passim*. [2] P. 67. [3] Pp. 37, 38.
[4] Pp. 18, 19, and *passim*. [5] P. 18. [6] Pp. 48-52. [7] P. 53.
[8] Cabasilas, like earlier writers, takes ἀνάμνησις to denote a remembrance to man: see especially Chapter IX. He, however, regards that which Christians thus remember as being also a commemoration before God.

God of the human life of our Lord. The sacrifice of Christ was once offered on the cross, but He has not ceased from His priestly work, and exercises an abiding ministry on our behalf as a priest for ever.[1] In His work of intercession He unites man with Himself, and this means of reconciliation is in the Eucharist,[2] which is not a figure or symbol of a sacrifice but really a sacrifice, in which that which is offered in sacrifice is the body of Christ, and in which the moment of sacrifice is when the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood.[3] This sacrifice is offered in prayer for the living and the departed, and in thanksgiving for the saints;[4] it sanctifies by way of intercession both the dead and the living, by way of Communion the living only.[5] It is offered to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and in it our Lord offers and is offered and receives the sacrifice.[6] It is a proclamation of our Lord's death and resurrection and ascension.[7] It is the commemoration, not of the Saviour as working miracles, but of Him as crucified and dying, of the cross and all that follows the cross.[8] On the cross and in the Eucharist there is one sacrifice;[9] and in the Eucharist there is to be seen in mystery the whole incarnate life of the Son of God, for 'In the sacred rite of the Eucharist the whole Incarnation of Christ is written in the bread as on a writing tablet; for as

[1] Cabasilas, *Sac. Liturg. Interp.*, 2, 8, 28.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 44.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 32.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 33.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 42.
[6] *Op. cit.*, 49.
[7] *Op. cit.*, 1, 16.
[8] *Op. cit.*, 7, 50.
[9] *Op. cit.*, 32.

in a figure we behold Him as a babe, and led to death, and crucified, and pierced in His side; then also the bread itself changed into that all-holy body which really endured this, and rose from the dead, and was taken up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.'[1]

There is a strong element of mysticism in the doctrinal teaching of Cabasilas; and the great importance he attaches to the symbolical actions in the Liturgy corresponds with this. His central ideas of the Eucharist are that, in reception, it is the communication of the life of Christ; and that, as sacrifice, it is the presentation by the Church to the Holy Trinity of the Lord who has passed through death and is alive for evermore, into whose body and blood the bread and the wine are changed by the operation of the Holy Ghost.

In the Definition of the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439) it was affirmed that the Eucharistic sacrifice benefits those departed souls who have died in penitence, but have not completed the needed satisfaction for their sins.[2]

To turn from the East to the West, the great treatises on dogma written in the twelfth century by Peter Lombard, and in the thirteenth century by S. Thomas Aquinas, contain statements about the Eucharistic sacrifice a little longer than that of S. John

[1] *Op. cit.*, 37; cf. 6, 8.
[2] *Def. Conc. Florent.* (Hardouin, *Concilia*, ix. 421, 422).

of Damascus, but still brief and without entering into details, and in striking contrast to the wealth of discussion with which S. Thomas Aquinas in particular surrounds most of the subjects with which he deals. In the *Sentences* Peter Lombard considers the questions 'whether that which the priest does is properly called a sacrifice or offering, and whether Christ is daily offered or has been offered once only.' He explains 'that what is presented and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and an oblation, because it is the memorial and representation of the true sacrifice and holy offering which was made on the altar of the cross'; and that 'on the cross Christ died once, and there He was offered in Himself,' while 'in the Sacrament He is offered daily, because in the Sacrament there is the commemoration of that which was done once.' He adds, 'Hence is gathered that what is done on the altar is and is called a sacrifice; and that Christ has been offered once and is offered daily, but in one way at that time, in another way now.'[1]

In the *Summa Theologica* S. Thomas Aquinas writes at slightly greater length on this subject than Peter Lombard. In addition to brief passing statements that the Eucharist 'is called a sacrifice' because it is 'commemorative of the Passion of the Lord which was a true sacrifice,'[2] and that it is the 'memorial' and the 'representation' of the Passion of Christ,'[3] he

[1] Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, IV. xii. 7.
[2] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxxiii. 4.
[3] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxiv. 1; lxxix. 1.

says that 'the celebration of the Sacrament is called the offering of Christ is a twofold way.' It is so in the first place as being 'a kind of representative symbol of the Passion of Christ,' and secondly 'so far as concerns the effect of the Passion of Christ, because by means of the Sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Passion of the Lord.'[1] Peter Lombard and S. Thomas Aquinas, then, carry on the patristic teaching, that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, and describe this sacrifice as commemorative of the Passion of Christ. Neither of them mentions the connection, found in S. Gregory the Great and some of the earlier Fathers and in Eastern writers already mentioned, between the Eucharist and the heavenly offering of our Lord. This aspect of the Eucharistic sacrifice is found, however, in other writers of the Middle Ages. In the ninth century Paschasius Radbert represents the significance of the Eucharistic sacrifice as consisting in the fact that the oblation of the Church on earth is united with the offering which our Lord makes in heaven, whereby he exercises His eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, and closely associates the reception of His body and blood with entering into His heavenly action.[2] Odo of Cambrai,[3] Ivo of Chartres,[4] Hildebert of Tours,[5] and Algerus of Liége[6] in the

[1] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxxiii. 1.
[2] Paschasius Radbert, *De corp. et sang. Dom.* 8, 12.
[3] Odo of Cambrai, *Expos. can. Missæ*, 3.
[4] Ivo of Chartres, *Opusc. de conv. vet. et nov. Sacrif.*
[5] Hildebert of Tours, *De myst. Missæ.*
[6] Algerus of Liége, *De sacram. corp. et sang. Dom.*, i. 14.

twelfth century, and other writers of the Middle Ages, make similar references to the connection of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the heavenly offering of Christ. To quote one instance, Algerus writes, 'The priest, consecrating the body of the Lord on the earthly altar as the minister of Christ and yet not assigning anything to his own merits, but all to the power and grace of God, prays in the canon to God the Father saying, "Command that these oblations be carried to Thee by the hands and power of thy Son, Thy Angel, who is the Angel of Great Counsel, not to this Thy lowly and visible altar, where now He is, but to Thy altar on high, that is Thy Son, whom Thou hast exalted to Thy right hand, in the presence of Thy Majesty, that there may be to us the body and blood of Thy beloved Son," showing that the Son Himself, by the command of the Father, is in heaven offering sacrifice, and is that on which it is offered, because we lean altogether on His faith and grace that the earthly bodies are converted into Christ; and we believe that He, sitting in the heavenly places at the right hand of the Father, intercedes for us, and is consecrated and is in the Sacrament of the Altar.'[1]

As in the Fathers, so in the theologians of the

[1] Algerus of Liége, *De sacram. corp. et sang. Dom.*, i. 14. The sentence marked as a quotation in the above passage is Algerus's own expansion of the sentence in the canon of the Mass, 'Command that these be carried by the hands of Thy Holy Angel to Thy altar on high in the presence of Thy divine Majesty, that as many of us as by this participation of the altar shall receive the most holy body and blood of Thy Son may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace.' Cf. p. 53, *supra*.

Middle Ages, there is no fully developed and accurately defined theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and this absence of specific definitions is found together with belief that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, that it is commemorative of the Passion, and that it is offered in union with the heavenly offering of Christ. Underlying the statements of this belief was the evident conviction that there is one abiding sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, offered on the cross in the life surrendered unto death, presented in His risen and ascended majesty by our Lord in heaven, and pleaded at the altar by the Church on earth in union both with the Passion and death of our Lord, and with His heavenly offering. Being the sacrifice of Christ Himself, in which, to use the phrase of Euthymius Zigabenus, 'His Manhood itself beseeches the Father on our behalf,' it is the presentation not of one aspect only, but of the many aspects of the life of our Lord. From this point of view there is no inconsistency when Peter Lombard describes the Eucharist as 'the memorial and representation of the true sacrifice and holy offering which was made on the altar of the cross,' and Paschasius Radbert speaks of the earthly elements which the Church offers being invisibly and spiritually carried on high and united with the sacrifice of our Lord in heaven, and then given back to us by the heavenly Priest as His body and His blood. To one writer the aspect of the Eucharist in which it is a commemoration of the

Passion was the most prominent; to another the aspect whereby it unites the Church on earth with the ministering of Christ in heaven was the most valued; possibly, at times, the aspect which was least prominent or least valued was almost or quite forgotten; the link by which all the different statements are bound together is the conception of the one abiding Sacrifice of Christ Himself.

Two hints thrown out by Peter Lombard and S. Thomas Aquinas had much influence on the development of the doctrine of the sacrifice in the West. Peter Lombard suggested that the reason for the institution of the Sacrament in two kinds was that 'the bread is concerned with the flesh, the wine with the soul,'[1] and made a brief passing statement that 'the fraction is the representation of the Passion and death of Christ.'[2] S. Thomas Aquinas, in the course of his discussion on sacrifice in general, answered an objection to the statement that a sacrifice is an act of a specific kind by saying, 'Sacrifices are properly so called when something is done with regard to things offered to God, as that animals were slain and burnt, or that bread is broken and eaten and blest. And this the name itself signifies; for a sacrifice is so called because man makes something sacred. But an offering is directly so called when something is offered to God, even if nothing is done with regard to it; as money or bread is said to be offered on the altar,

[1] Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, IV. xi. 6. [2] *Op. cit.*, IV. xii. 6.

with regard to which nothing is done. Wherefore every sacrifice is an offering, but not every offering a sacrifice. Now first-fruits are offerings, because they were offered to God, as we read in Deuteronomy xxvi.; but they are not sacrifices, because nothing sacred was done with regard to them.'[1]

A learned Roman Catholic writer has pointed out that Alexander of Hales, in the thirteenth century, 'threw out as a passing thought' the idea that 'the consecration in two kinds was a representation of the separation of the body and blood of Jesus Christ on Calvary'; but that, while the theologians of the thirteenth century as a rule 'continued to see an image of the Passion in the liturgical rites ordained by the Church,' Alexander of Hales stood alone in this carrying out of the suggestion hinted at by Peter Lombard with regard to the two-fold consecration.[2] This idea was adopted in incidental statements by S. Thomas Aquinas, who, moreover, associated the sacrifice with the consecration, in which the priest, he teaches, is representative of Christ as he is of the Church in the prayers in general: 'In the Passion of Christ the blood was separated from the body, and therefore in this Sacrament, which is the memorial of the Passion of the Lord, the bread is taken separately as the Sacrament of the body, and

[1] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, II. 2 lxxxv. 3, ad 3.

[2] Vacant, *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe dans l'Eglise Latine*, pp. 36-83. The passage in Alexander of Hales is *Universæ Theologiæ Summa*, IV. x. 2 (2).

the wine as the Sacrament of the blood.'[1] 'The priest is representative of Christ, in whose person and power he utters the words of consecration. . . . And so there is a sense in which the priest and victim are the same.'[2] 'In the Mass, the priest speaks in the prayers in the person of the Church . . .; but in the consecration of the Sacrament he speaks in the person of Christ.'[3]

The suggestions thus made, without any detailed discussion of them, by Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales and S. Thomas Aquinas, had an important influence on the later history of the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice in the West.

A little later than S. Thomas Aquinas, at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, was the teaching of John Duns Scotus. It was opposed to that of S. Thomas Aquinas in many matters of widely varying importance;[4] and, in particular, it differed in minute and subtle points about the Eucharist. The tendency of his statements is to make the sacrificial action wider than the consecration taken by itself,[5] and he regarded the officiating priest

[1] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxxiv. 1; cf. lxxvi. 2, ad 1, lxxviii. 3, ad 2, ad 7, lxxx. 12, ad 3.

[2] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxxiii. 1, ad 3; cf. lxxviii. 1, lxxxii. 1, 3.

[3] *Op. cit.*, III. lxxxii. 7, ad 3.

[4] There is a table of the most important differences in the present writer's *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, p. 336.

[5] Duns Scotus, *Sent.*, IV. xiii. 2. For his discussion of the relation of the words 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' to the consecration, see IV. viii. 1.

as acting in the capacity of the minister of the whole Church.[1]

As in other matters, Duns Scotus had many followers in his teaching about the Eucharist. It is probable that Scotus himself, and the Scotists subsequently, were struggling after some statement about the Mass which should maintain that it is a sacrifice, and should, at the same time, protect the unique character of our Lord's death on the cross, and allow for the truth that the Eucharistic offering is the act, not of the one priest who celebrates, but of the whole Church.[2] The extent to which the patristic doctrine of the connection of the Eucharistic Sacrifice with the action of our Lord in heaven had fallen out of sight in the West in the Middle Ages, deprived them of the key to their difficulties which would have enabled them to do this without disconnecting the action of the priest on earth from that of our Lord.

It cannot be ascertained that the later Middle Ages added much to the development of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. That the Eucharist is a sacrifice appears to have been universally held. In what way it is a sacrifice seems to have been regarded as a question on which the Church had not defined, about

[1] Duns Scotus, *Quæst. Quodlib.*, xx.

[2] It should not be forgotten that Peter Lombard had written (though in supporting the usually rejected position that an heretical or excommunicated priest cannot validly consecrate), 'No one says in the act of consecration, I offer, but, We offer, as though speaking in the person of the Church.' *Sent.*, IV. xiii. 1.

which theologians might dispute and hold different opinions.

At the close of the Middle Ages, those who believed the traditional teaching of the theologians of the Church that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, entered into a period of controversy at great disadvantage in several respects.

In the first place, the connection of the Eucharist with the heavenly offering of our Lord had long been little recognised in the West. The assertion of it by the famous Dominican theologian Melchior Canus [1] in the middle of the sixteenth century, by Bishop Watson of Lincoln in the reign of Queen Mary,[2] and by a very few of the divines at the Council of Trent,[3] shows that it was not altogether forgotten. But the fact that the schoolmen had not incorporated into their systems this part of the theology of the Fathers and of some liturgical writers of the Middle Ages naturally led to its being ignored by very many of those upon whom their influence was great. Consequently, the position of those who wished to maintain the traditional doctrine of the Church had been undermined to some extent; for the two truths that there is only one sacrifice of Christ, and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, may most easily be seen to be consistent with one

[1] Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.*, XII. xi. 81; cf. 71.

[2] Watson, *Wholesome and Catholic Doctrine concerning the Seven Sacraments*, fo. lxxii. (ed. 1558).

[3] See p. 131, *infra*. Cf. also Cassander, *Consultatio*, art. xxiv., pp. 204-230.

another when the relation of the Eucharistic sacrifice to the sacrifice of our Lord in heaven as His abiding presentation to the Father of His living Manhood which has passed through death is kept in mind.

Secondly, the idea of destruction as a necessary element in sacrifice, which had been imported into the mediæval theology by the sentence of S. Thomas Aquinas which has been quoted, and which in consequence came to be a part of the traditional Thomist theory, cramped and limited the notion of sacrifice to an extent which had not previously been the case.

Thirdly, the belief that specific results are the direct outcome of the offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice had been narrowed and hardened by some into a mechanical theory of fixed and certain effect, such as, when controversies arose, writers who held so strongly to the main lines of the traditional Catholic doctrine as Melchior Canus [1] and Cardinal Cajetan [2] thought it necessary to repudiate.

Fourthly, a theory had arisen, probably less widely held and less influential than the mechanical ideas of the effects of the mere offering of the sacrifice, which dissociated the Eucharist from the action of our Lord on Calvary by describing the sacrifice of the cross as a propitiation for original sin, and the sacrifice of the Mass as a separate and parallel act offered for actual sin. It was supposed by some that this view had the authority

[1] Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.*, XII. xi. 69-74.
[2] Cajetan, *Quæst. atque Quodlib.* (*De Sacr. Euch.*).

of S. Thomas Aquinas and his teacher Albert the Great. The treatise *Of the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar*, which was printed with the works of S. Thomas Aquinas, and a sermon ascribed to Albert the Great contained the passage: 'The second reason for the institution of this Sacrament is the sacrifice of the altar, against a certain daily ravage of our sins; so that, as the body of the Lord was once offered on the cross for original sin, so it is offered continually for our daily sins on the altar, and in this the Church has the precious and acceptable office of appeasing God beyond all sacraments or sacrifices of the law.'[1] It is certain that the theory in question was not held by either S. Thomas Aquinas or Albert the Great; it is almost certain that the treatise and the sermon from which the above quotation is made were not rightly ascribed to them; there is a possibility that the passage itself was only an awkwardly expressed statement not intended to bear any such meaning as that placed upon it.[2] Nevertheless, the existence of this view, and the possibility afforded by this passage of associating it with two great names, were influential circumstances.[3]

Catherinus was a Dominican writer of the first

[1] *De venerabili sacr. altaris*, in S. Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula*, xxi. (al. lviii.); Albert the Great, *De Sacros. Euch. Sacr. Serm.*, i.

[2] On these points, see Vacant, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42, note; *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, i. 400-409, ii. 252-260, 302-308, iii. 723-730; *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1896, pp. 41, 42.

[3] See Kidd, *The Later Mediæval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 58-103.

half of the sixteenth century, who became Bishop of Minori in A.D. 1547, and Archbishop of Conza in A.D. 1551. It may be doubted whether the Jesuits Vasquez and Suarez and the Dominican Melchior Canus were right in ascribing to him a theory making the sacrifice of the altar a distinct sacrifice, instituted for different purposes, from the sacrifice of Calvary, which they stigmatise as 'clearly absurd,' 'plainly contrary to the Catholic faith,'[1] 'a mad dream,'[2] and inconsistent with the doctrine which rests upon Scripture, tradition, and reason alike.[3] That he should, at any rate, have come perilously near to it, and have been charged with it by competent theologians, may afford an additional illustration to that supplied by the passage ascribed to Albert the Great and S. Thomas Aquinas of the notion of the separation of that which is done at the altar from that which our Lord did on the cross.

[1] Vasquez, *Com. in* 3 *p. S. Thom.*, lxxxiii. 1, disp. ccxxi. cap. 4.
[2] Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.*, XII. xi. 75.
[3] Suarez, *In* 3 *p. S. Thom.*, lxxxiii. 1, disp. lxxix. sect. i. See also Cajetan, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION CONTROVERSIES ABROAD

The Eucharist was prominent among the subjects of controversy in the sixteenth century. In A.D. 1520 Martin Luther published his work *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church.* For himself, he rejected the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation. It was not, in his judgment, implied by the teaching of Holy Scripture. It did not necessarily follow from the assertion of the real presence of Christ's body and blood. It was unknown in the Church for more than twelve centuries. But he did not claim that others should, of necessity, follow him in this rejection. It was open to them, if they wished, to accept Transubstantiation, as it was lawful for him to reject it. And, he maintained, his own belief that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ was no less strong than that of the advocates of Transubstantiation, and was in no degree impaired by his conviction that the elements themselves continue to exist.[1] Similar positive teaching in a less

[1] Luther, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, pp. 311-317 (*Luther's Primary Works*, ed. Wace and Buchheim).

controversial form is found in his later *Short Catechism* and *Greater Catechism*. 'The Sacrament of the altar,' he there says, 'is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and under the bread and wine, through Christ's word appointed for us Christians to eat and drink.'[1] And elsewhere he frequently insists that Christ has declared the bread and wine to be His body and blood; and that, therefore, belief in this must be emphatically affirmed.[2] He is careful, moreover, to repudiate the material view of 'impanation,' with holding which he was charged by his opponents, and to say he was 'not so foolish as to believe that the body of Christ exists in the bread in the same visible manner in which bread is in the basket, or wine in the goblet.' In his later teaching his opinions on the subject of the Presence in the Eucharist were complicated by the idea which he adopted of the ubiquity of the Manhood, and consequently of the body of Christ.[3]

Luther denied the sacrificial character of the Eucharist. He maintained that in the 'words of Christ' at the institution of the Sacrament, 'and absolutely in nothing else, lies the whole force, nature,

[1] Luther, *Short Catechism*, p. 17; *Greater Catechism*, pp. 144, 145, *op. cit.*

[2] See, however, a passage quoted in Note VI. on page 294; and for a fuller treatment of Luther's opinions see *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1902, pp. 258-263.

[3] See Hagenbach, *History of Christian Doctrines*, iii. 158, 159 (English translation). Cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vii. 261-266 (English translation).

and substance of the Mass'; that 'the Mass or Sacrament of the altar is the testament of Christ, which He left behind Him at His death, to be distributed to those who believe in Him'; that 'the bread and wine,' though 'presented beforehand to receive a blessing, that they may be sanctified by the word and prayer,' 'after being blessed and consecrated are no longer offered, but are received as a gift from God'; and that 'the Gospel' 'does not allow the Mass to be a sacrifice.'[1]

The teaching of the early Lutherans, as shown in their authoritative documents, was for the most part the same as that of Luther himself.[2] But it may be well to notice two points in the 'Saxon Confession,' a revision of the 'Confession of Augsburg,' published in 1551, and largely due to Melancthon. In this document a sacrifice in the Eucharist was allowed in the sense that 'the whole action, prayer, reception, recollection, faith, hope, confession, and thanksgiving' may be described as sacrificial; it was said that 'this whole inner and outer action in one converted to God, and in the whole Church, is in very truth a sacrifice of praise, or Eucharistic, and a reasonable service'; and it was added 'we preserve with the greatest reverence the continual sacrifice.' With reference to the reserved Sacrament it was maintained

[1] Luther, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, pp. 318-336 (Wace and Buchheim).

[2] See Note VII. on page 294.

that only in 'the ordained use' of Communion is there 'the nature of a Sacrament'; that 'in the ordained use Christ is really and substantially present'; but that 'outside the ordained use' 'to carry about part of the Lord's Supper and adore it' is 'a service of idols' and 'clear sacrilege.'[1]

Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer, was a contemporary of Luther. Like Luther, he rejected the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Unlike him, he abandoned also belief in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated elements. According to his teaching, our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament were figurative; the bread and the wine are only symbols of the body and blood of Christ; and they became holy in no other way than that in which a flower becomes more noble when it is put into a bridal wreath, and a king's signet ring is more valuable than the weight of gold of which it is made.[2] To eat the flesh and blood of Christ denoted, he said, to have trust in Christ as having given His flesh and blood for our life; the Eucharist was a commemoration to Christians of the death of Christ; it was not in any sense a sacrifice to the Father of Christ's body and blood.[3]

At a conference held at Marburg in October 1529,

[1] *Saxon Confession*, especially pp. 284, 286, 287, 241, 282, 285 (*Sylloge Confessionum*).

[2] Zwingli, Sermon preached at Berne in 1528 (*Opera*, ii. 532).

[3] *Idem*, *De vera et falsa religione* (*Opera*, ii. 202-216); *De Cœna*

doctrinal statements on many subjects were drawn up, which Lutherans and Zwinglians agreed to accept. It proved impossible to formulate any statement about the Eucharist as to which there could be such agreement.

Martin Bucer attempted to discover a means of reconciliation between the doctrine of Luther and that of Zwingli. With Luther, he asserted that the faithful communicant receives the body and blood of Christ. With Zwingli, he denied that the body and blood are present in the consecrated elements. According to his teaching, the sacramental signs which are received are only bread and wine; but, at reception, the faith of the communicant uplifts him to a real, though spiritual, participation in the body and blood of our Lord in heaven.[1]

A further attempt to find a middle position between Luther and Zwingli was made by John Calvin. In his doctrine it was denied that the elements are the body and blood of Christ, and affirmed that the body and blood are received by the faithful communicant. The 'life' of Christ 'passes into us and becomes ours'; by 'the hidden power of the Holy Ghost' 'the flesh of Christ reaches to us so as to be our food'; 'when the symbol of the body is received, let us believe that no less certainly the body itself is given to us.' Calvin

Dom. plana brevisque Institutio (*Opera*, ii. 272-295); *Fid. Christ. Expos.* (*Opera*, ii. 554-557).

[1] Bucer, *Exomologesis* (*Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 538-545); *Ep. ad. Pet. Mart.* (*op. cit.* pp. 546-550); *Propositiones novem de S. Euch.* (*op. cit.*, p. 611).

called the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass as taught in his day 'a most pestilent error' and 'an abomination.' He rejected also any sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. 'God, he said, has given us a table at which to feast, not an altar on which to offer a sacrifice; He has not consecrated priests to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the sacred banquet.' Yet he admitted that the Eucharist is a sacrifice in some such sense as that allowed by the 'Saxon Confession' of 1551, for he distinguished 'another kind of sacrifice' 'called Eucharistic,' in which 'are contained all the offices of love with which, while we embrace our brethren, we honour the Lord Himself, in His members, then all our prayers, praises, thanksgivings, and whatever is done by us for the worship of God. . . . This kind of sacrifice the Lord's Supper cannot be without, in which, while we announce His death and return thanks, we offer nothing else than a sacrifice of praise.'[1]

The positions of the Continental Reformers of the sixteenth century may, then, be summed up as follows. The opinion of Luther was, that the body and blood of Christ are as really present in the sacramental elements as the advocates of Transubstantiation maintained,[2] but that the bread and wine remain in all their natural reality. By his followers this presence of the body and blood was limited so as not to remain

[1] Calvin, *Inst. Christ. Rel.*, IV. xvii. 5, 10; xviii. 1, 12, 16, 17, 18.
[2] See, however, Note VI. on page 294.

if the Sacrament was not being used for the purpose ordained by God, namely Communion. Zwingli regarded the bread and wine as symbols only, and as in no sense conveying the body and blood to the communicant. Bucer, while rejecting Luther's view, held that the faithful communicant has real participation in the heavenly life of Christ in connection with the reception of the Sacrament. As a development of this, it was maintained by Calvin that the elements remain bread and wine only, but that Christ communicates His body and blood to those who receive the Sacrament with faith. All alike rejected the Eucharistic sacrifice as the offering of the body and blood of Christ to the Father by the priest and the Church, though some of them admitted that the Eucharist may be called a sacrifice in the sense in which that term may be applied to all kinds of Christian prayer and service of God.

The doctrine and use of the Holy Eucharist were considered and discussed at great length by the Council of Trent. In 1534 Paul III. became Pope. Shortly after his accession he determined to summon a Council to consider the affairs of the Church. It was at first ordered that the Council should meet at Mantua in 1537. Various circumstances occurred to cause delay, and the first session was held at Trent in 1545. In 1547 the sittings of the Council were transferred to Bologna, and in the same year were suspended. Up to this point in the proceedings the

chief subjects considered in all the sessions except the last were the Creed, Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of Grace. At the seventh session, which preceded the transference to Bologna, the Council affirmed thirteen canons on the Sacraments in general, fourteen canons on Baptism, and three canons on Confirmation. In those on the Sacraments in general the number of the Sacraments were declared to be seven, of which the Eucharist was one; views placing the Christian Sacraments on a level with those of the Jews, making the seven Sacraments equal to one another, and denying the necessity of the Christian Sacraments to salvation, were condemned; it was denied that the 'Sacraments were instituted only to nourish faith,' and that they are 'only external signs of the grace or righteousness which are received by means of faith' or 'marks of Christian profession'; it was affirmed that, 'so far as the part of God is concerned,' 'grace is given by means of Sacraments' 'always and to all' and that, unless hindered by some 'obstacle' interposed by the recipients, they 'confer grace.'[1]

In 1551 Pope Julius II. summoned the Council to resume its sittings, and it met at Trent on May 1 in that year. Between that date and April 28, 1552, when the proceedings were again suspended, the subjects of the Eucharist, Penance, and Extreme Unction, were considered. With regard to the

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. vii., De sacr. in gen., canons 1-8 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 52).

Eucharist, a statement of the opinions of the different schools of Reformers was drawn up and submitted to the consideration of a large number of theologians.[1] In their reports these theologians advised the absolute condemnation of some, the qualified condemnation of others, of the opinions laid before them.[2] After lengthy discussions the fathers of the Council drew up and affirmed a statement of doctrine and a number of canons.[3] In the former it was declared that 'after the consecration of the bread and wine our Lord Jesus Christ' 'is contained in the' 'Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist' 'really, actually, and substantially'; that He is 'ever at the right hand of the Father in heaven after the natural manner of being,' but is 'with us sacramentally in His substance in that method of being which' 'we can scarcely express in words,' but which is 'possible to God'; that after consecration 'the whole and complete Christ is present under the form of bread, and under any part of the same form, also under the form of wine, and under the parts of it.' In this statement of doctrine, also, the truth of Transubstantiation, the lawfulness and need of adoring the Sacrament, of reservation, of confession before Communion in the case of any who are conscious of mortal sin, were affirmed.[4] The

[1] Theiner, *Acta Genuina SS. Œc. Conc. Trid.*, i. 488, 489.
[2] *Op. cit.*, i. 490-502.
[3] *Op. cit.*, i. 502-529.
[4] Council of Trent, Sess. xiii. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 79-82).

canons stated shortly the doctrines thus declared, and made them obligatory. That on Transubstantiation was as follows: 'If any one shall say that in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of the bread and the wine remains together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and unique change of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which change the Catholic Church most fitly calls Transubstantiation, let him be anathema.'[1]

The reports of the theologians and the discussions of the fathers of the Council show the grounds on which these decisions are based. Scripture and tradition alike, it was maintained, required belief that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ. From this fundamental belief the rest was held to follow by necessary processes of logic. The Lateran Council of 1215 had affirmed the truth of Transubstantiation, and the divines at Trent regarded such an affirmation as requisite to the maintenance of the doctrine which Scripture and tradition were declared to teach. The scholastic subtleties of the Middle Ages, philosophical questions as to the method of the change, were to a large extent laid aside; but the change of the whole substance of the bread and the wine into the body and blood of Christ was expressly affirmed; and the continuance of the sub-

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xiii., canon 2 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 83).

stance of the bread and the wine after consecration was expressly denied.

It was determined that the practical questions as Communion in one or in both kinds and as to the Communion of little children should be postponed. Most of the rest of 1551 was devoted to the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. In December 1551 the consideration of the Sacrifice of the Mass was begun. The first step was again to submit the teaching of the different schools of Reformers to the judgment of the theologians attending the Council.

The reports of the theologians had been made and discussions of the fathers of the Council had taken place, and canons had been drawn up for examination on this subject and on that of the Sacrament of Orders, when the Council was again suspended on April 28, 1552.

In 1560 the Council was reassembled by the order of Pope Pius IV.; in June 1562 four canons were affirmed denying the necessity of Communion in both kinds and of the Communion of little children;[1] in September 1562, after much discussion, the question whether the reception of the chalice should be allowed in some places under certain conditions was remitted to the Pope;[2] in July 1562 the consideration of the Sacrifice of the Mass was resumed.[3]

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xxi. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 122).
[2] Theiner, *op. cit.*, ii. 127, 128. [3] Theiner, *op. cit.*, ii. 58.

A series of thirteen questions on the points raised by the propositions contained in the list drawn up in December 1551 was submitted to the theologians. After fresh consideration by the theologians and discussion by the fathers of the Council, a statement of doctrine and canons giving effect to it were drawn up and presented to the Council, and were affirmed in September, 1562. The statement of doctrine recounted the institution of the Sacrament in which our Lord, 'though about to offer Himself once to God the Father on the altar of the cross,' 'yet left to' 'the Church a visible sacrifice,' 'whereby that bloody sacrifice once to be accomplished on the cross might be represented and His memorial might abide even to the end of the world, and the saving power of the sacrifice on the cross might be applied for the remission of those sins which we daily commit'; and in performance of His office as 'high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' 'offered His own body and blood to God the Father under the forms of bread and wine'; and appointed His Apostles 'priests of the New Testament' for the performance of the same rite. It further stated that the sacrifice of the Mass is 'really propitiatory,' so that 'through it' those who 'come to God with a true heart and right faith, with fear and reverence, in contrition and penitence, obtain mercy and find grace in time of need'; that 'the victim is one and the same' as on the cross, since He who 'offered Himself on the cross' 'now

offers by the ministry of His priests,' 'the method of offering alone being different'; and that the 'fruits' of the Sacrifice of the Cross 'are most richly received by means of this bloodless offering,' and that consequently no despite is done to the work accomplished on Calvary. It proceeded to justify the association of Masses offered to God with the honour of the saints and the canon and ceremonies of the Mass. On 'private Masses' it was said that it was desirable that some of the faithful should communicate at every Mass, 'in order that the richer fruit of this most holy sacrffice should become theirs,' but that, failing communicants, Masses might be celebrated in which the priest alone communicated; and that such Masses 'ought to be accounted really general, partly because in them the people communicate spiritually, and partly because they are celebrated by the public minister of the Church not only for himself, but for all the faithful who pertain to the body of Christ.' It was laid down that water was to be mixed with the wine, and that the Mass was not to be said in the vernacular, but should be frequently explained to the people.[1] The doctrinal canons were the following: 'If any one shall say that in the Mass a real and proper sacrifice is not offered to God, or that no other offering is made than that Christ is given to us to be eaten, let him be anathema.' 'If any one shall say that in the words, Do this for My memorial, Christ

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xxii. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 126-128).

did not ordain the Apostles priests, or did not appoint that they and other priests should offer His body and blood, let him be anathema.' 'If any one shall say that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or is a bare commemoration of the sacrifice accomplished on the cross and not propitiatory, or that it is of profit only to one who communicates, and that it ought not to be offered for the living and the departed, for sins, penalties, satisfactions, and other needs, let him be anathema.' 'If any one shall say that any blasphemy or despite is done to the most holy sacrifice of Christ accomplished on the cross by means of the sacrifice of the Mass, let him be anathema.'[1]

The grounds on which these decisions were based were the teaching of Scripture and tradition, and the argument derived from the doctrine that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ, and therefore the same as that which was offered on the cross. It was maintained throughout the reports of the theologians and the discussions of the fathers of the Council that the Mass is one and the same as the sacrifice of the cross, and that, consequently, there is in it no addition to the work done on the cross, but rather an application of the results of it. To a large extent any connection with the heavenly offering of our Lord was out of sight, as in the theology of the

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xxii. De Sacrif. Missæ, canons 1-4 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 129).

Schoolmen and in most of the Western teaching after their time; but in the consideration of the subject in 1551 and 1552 four of the theologians referred to such a connection, three in terms of approval, one in condemnation.[1] It might perhaps have been possible for the Council of Trent to present more effectively its maintenance of the doctrines that the Mass is a sacrifice and that there is only one Sacrifice of Christ, if there had been a more general and clearer recognition of the teaching of the Fathers, the mediæval Western liturgical writers, and the Greek theologians of the Middle Ages connecting the Holy Eucharist with the heavenly offering of our Lord.

The instruction to parish priests, known as the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, was drawn up in accordance with a decision of the Council, and issued by the order of Pope Pius v. Consequently, while not binding as a matter of faith, it possesses high authority in the Roman Catholic Church. It contains a very lengthy treatment of the Holy Eucharist. In explaining and expanding the decrees of the Council, the *Catechism* affirmed that the Mass is 'not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice which was offered on the cross, but also really a propitiatory sacrifice,'[2] being 'one and the same sacrifice,'[3] with 'one and the same

[1] Theiner, *Acta Genuina SS. Œc. Conc. Trid.*, i. 612, 618, 621; Le Plat, *Monument. ad Hist. Conc. Trid. Collect.*, iv. 342, 343.

[2] *Cat. Conc. Trid.*, II. iv. 76. [3] *Op. cit.*, II. iv. 74.

victim,'[1] and 'one and the same priest'[2] as the sacrifice of the cross; and entered, with greater detail than the decrees of the Council, into the meaning and method of Transubstantiation. It asserted that 'the real body of Christ' 'contained in this Sacrament' is 'the very same as that which was born of the Virgin and sits in heaven at the right hand of the Father'; that 'no substance of the elements remains'; that the 'substance of the bread and wine altogether ceases to exist,' so that the 'accidents' 'do not inhere in any substance,' and 'are without any subject,'[3] though the elements 'retain the natural power of nourishing the body';[4] and that Christ 'is not in this Sacrament as in a place.'[5]

Against Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin, then, the divines of Trent affirmed that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ. Against Luther they asserted Transubstantiation, though without emphasising or calling attention in their formal decrees to the philosophical ideas usually associated with that word. Against the Continental Reformers in general they maintained that the Eucharist is the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, identical with that which was offered on the cross.

[1] *Op. cit.*, II. iv. 74.
[2] *Op. cit.*, II. iv. 75.
[3] *Op. cit.*, II. iv. 26, 43.
[4] *Op. cit.*, II. iv. 38.
[5] *Op. cit.*, II. iv. 42.

CHAPTER IX

THE REFORMATION CONTROVERSIES IN ENGLAND

The controversies about the Eucharist on the continent of Europe in the early part of the sixteenth century soon woke echoes in England. Martin Luther's book *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church* was published in 1520. In the following year an answer to it, bearing the name of King Henry VIII., was printed in London with the title *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum.* It was this book which won for Henry from Pope Leo X. the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' a title to which the king attached so much importance that, when it was afterwards recalled by papal authority, he secured the passing of an Act by the English Parliament[1] to confer it on him anew. In this *Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther* King Henry VIII. maintained the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the sacrificial character of the Mass. He laid stress on the argument from Scripture,

[1] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

that the consecrated elements are there called the body and blood of Christ, and explained away the use of the word bread by S. Paul to denote the Sacrament. Transubstantiation, he contended, rested on no scholastic argument, such as those which Luther had ridiculed, but on the unbroken tradition of the Church as expressed in the writings of the Fathers. The sacrifice of Christ, he said, was begun in the upper room, consummated on the cross, and celebrated and represented in the Mass, in which therefore 'Christ Himself is truly offered for the sins of Christian people.' Further attacks from an English source on Luther and on Œcolampadius, an advocate of Zwinglian doctrine, were in books by Bishop Fisher of Rochester, notably his *Refutation of the Assertion of Luther*, published at Antwerp in 1523, his *Defence of the Assertion of the king against the Babylonish Captivity*, published at Cologne in 1525, and his treatise *On the Reality of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, published at Cologne in 1527. King Henry VIII. and Bishop Fisher alike took up substantially the same position as that afterwards affirmed by the Council of Trent. The scriptural and patristic doctrine, that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ, inevitably led, in their minds, to the assertion of Transubstantiation. The tradition of the Church showed that the Mass is a sacrifice. Like most of the divines at Trent, they followed the scholastic theologians in associating the

sacrifice with our Lord's actions in the upper room and His death on the cross, and did not refer to the connection with His high priestly work in heaven which is mentioned by other writers of great authority.[1]

A list of fifty-nine propositions which was brought before Convocation in 1536, as calling for action from that body, shows that the controversies in England had become somewhat serious. The first of these propositions mentions 'that it is commonly preached and discoursed' 'that the Sacrament of the altar is not to be regarded: for several profane and scandalous persons are neither ashamed nor afraid to say, "Why should I see the sacring of the High Mass? Is it anything else but a piece of bread, or a little pretty round robin?"' In the sixth and seventh it was declared that 'all those deserve the character of Antichrist who refuse to communicate the laity under both kinds' and that 'all who are present at the Mass and do not receive with the priest have no benefit by that office.' The thirty-seventh was a statement that 'it is a pity Mass, Matins, Vespers, or any other part of the Divine Service, was ever made or suffered to be read or sung in a church' 'because they tend only to impose on the people.' The forty-first and the fifty-first spoke of the celebration of the Mass with like contempt, and the fifty-eighth described 'the canon of the Mass' as 'the comment of some illiterate, foolish priest.' The opinions asserted in the

[1] See pp. 65-69, 98-104, 106-109, 113, 131, *supra*.

propositions contained in this list were described by the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury as 'errors and abuses' and as 'causes of dissension; worthy special reformation.' The Lower House also complained that the bishops had allowed certain books, which a Committee of Convocation had declared heretical, to remain uncondemned and in the hands of the unlearned, and had thus connived at the promulgation of error.[1]

The consideration of the fifty-nine propositions and the action of the Lower House of Convocation led to the drawing up of a document known as the 'Ten Articles.' This document was issued with the authority of the king. It was signed by very many of the bishops and a considerable number of the dignified clergy.[2] It appears to have been an attempt to formulate a position which might afford a basis for agreement between the more moderate advocates of the traditional doctrines and the more conservative Lutherans. The fourth article affirmed that 'under the form and figure of bread and wine' 'is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and

[1] The propositions are given in full, with an account of the proceedings of Convocation, in Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, iv. 336-343.

[2] See the signatures in Collier, *op. cit.*, iv. 356-359; Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. 17-20.

suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received of all them which receive the said Sacrament; and that therefore the said Sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience before he shall receive the same.'[1]

In the following year (A.D. 1537), a committee consisting of all the bishops and some other divines drew up *The Institution of a Christian Man, containing the Exposition or Interpretation of the common Creed, of the Seven Sacraments, of the Ten Commandments, and of the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory*, usually known as the *Bishops' Book*. It was signed by all the members of the committee, and it was issued by the king with orders that portions of it should be read in church every Sunday and holy day during the three years following, though he was careful to say that he had not minutely considered its contents.[2] The passage relating to 'the Sacrament of the Altar' was taken, with merely verbal alterations, from the 'Ten Articles.'[3]

[1] Collier, *op. cit.*, iv. 350-351; Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12 (cf. pp. xxv-xxvi).

[2] See *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer* (Parker Society), pp. 469, 470 (cf. pp. 83-114).

[3] Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101.

In A.D. 1538, King Henry VIII. invited a small embassy of the more conservative Lutheran divines to visit England. On their arrival he nominated a committee of three bishops and four doctors to confer with them. A manuscript written in Latin, entitled *A Book' containing divers Articles de Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum, de Peccato Originali, etc.*, which has been found among a bundle of papers which belonged to Archbishop Cranmer, probably gives all the statements of doctrine on which the Lutheran and English divines were able to agree. It is usually known as the 'Thirteen Articles.' It says with regard to the Eucharist: 'Concerning the Eucharist we firmly believe and teach that in the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, the body and blood of Christ are really, substantially, and actually present under the forms of bread and wine; and that under the same forms they are really and actually presented and given to those who receive the Sacrament, both good and bad.'[1]

On this subject, then, the position adopted in the 'Thirteen Articles' is the same as that in the Confession of Augsburg; and the reception of the body and blood of Christ by all communicants, whether 'good' or 'bad,' which was implied in the document presented at Augsburg, is expressly affirmed.

Thus, the 'Ten Articles,' the *Bishops' Book* and the 'Thirteen Articles' all asserted the presence of

[1] Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, pp. 55-63, 266.

the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament, and all refrained from using the word Transubstantiation or affirming the doctrine usually understood by that word. In November 1538, emphasis was laid on the affirmation of the Real Presence by the burning at Smithfield of John Nicholson, who had adopted Zwinglian opinions, and, as a result of a controversy with Dr. Taylor, the rector of S. Peter's, Cornhill, had appealed to the king against a condemnation of his beliefs by Archbishop Cranmer.[1]

In 1539 the king, possibly influenced by annoyance at a paper in which the German divines before leaving England had condemned what they considered to be the abuses of Communion in one kind, private Masses, and the celibacy of the clergy,[2] sent a message to the House of Lords, asking for the appointment of a committee to examine different opinions about religion, and to draw up articles of agreement to be reported to the House. As the committee, after eleven days' debate, had not come to any conclusion, six questions were submitted to the House of Lords by the Duke of Norfolk. The first, second, and fourth questions were, 'Whether in the Holy Eucharist Christ's real body is present without any Transubstantiation?' 'Whether the laity are to communicate in this Sacrament under both kinds?'

[1] See Perry, *A History of the English Church*, ii. 156-157.
[2] See Perry, *op. cit.*, ii. 156, 164.

'Whether by the law of God private Masses ought to be celebrated?'[1] The six questions were submitted to the Convocation of Canterbury which, though not quite unanimously, affirmed Transubstantiation, the non-necessity of Communion in both kinds, and the lawfulness of private Masses. Shortly afterwards the 'Six Articles Law' was passed by Parliament. This Act declared the agreement of Convocation and Parliament, and on the subject of the Eucharist made it penal to deny that 'the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary' 'is present really under the form of bread and wine'; or 'that after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man,' or 'that the Communion in both kinds is not necessary "ad salutem" by the law of God, to all persons'; or 'that it is meet and necessary that private Mass be continued and admitted in this the king's English Church and congregation.'[2]

In 1543 a revision of the *Bishops' Book*, entitled *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, usually known as the *King's Book*, was issued with a preface by the king. In the place of the short paragraph on 'the Sacrament of the Altar,' which the *Bishops' Book* had contained, there was a long exposition of the Eucharist, which, without using the word Transubstantiation, was

[1] Collier, *op. cit.*, v. 36. [2] Collier, *op. cit.*, v. 38.

plainly intended to teach the doctrine.[1] So far, then, as the formal documents of the reign of Henry VIII. are concerned, from 1536 to 1538 there was a tendency to assert the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist in such language as might leave it open either to affirm or to deny Transubstantiation; after 1538 the tendency, possibly largely owing to the influence of the king, was to make the acceptance of Transubstantiation obligatory.

The death of Henry VIII., and the accession of Edward VI. in 1547, led to great changes in the Church of England. The movement of thought which can be traced in the case of Archbishop Cranmer probably resembled that in the minds of many others also. When Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533 he is not known to have held any opinion about the Eucharist different from those usually accepted. A little later, without any formal systematisation of a Lutheran doctrine, he appears to have abandoned belief in Transubstantiation, but to have still maintained the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament.[2] By the year 1550, and possibly earlier, he had reached the position laid down in his *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ*, and

[1] See Note VIII. on p. 296. The Eucharistic teaching in the *Catechism* of Archbishop Hamilton of S. Andrews, published in 1552, may be compared with that in the *King's Book*.

[2] See Mason, *Thomas Cranmer*, pp. 125-127.

more fully explained in his *An Answer unto a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the True and Godly Doctrine of the most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ*, published in 1551. In these treatises Cranmer's ultimate belief about the Eucharist is very clearly stated, and is defended at great length. He denies not only Transubstantiation, but also that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ; and he repudiates any idea of the Eucharist as the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood. The bread and wine may, he allows, be called the body and blood of Christ; it may be said that Christ is present in the Sacrament; the word sacrifice may be applied to the Eucharist. But, when such terminology is used, the true meaning, he contends, is that the faithful communicant receives the virtue and grace of Christ's body and blood, which are themselves absent; that He is present in this Sacrament as He is present in Baptism or during prayer, or as the sun is present wherever its warmth is felt; and that in the Eucharistic service there is a remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and an oblation of those who take part in the service.[1]

This gradual and deliberate change of belief on the part of a divine so learned and able as Cranmer throws light on the history of the formularies. On

[1] See Note IX. on p. 297.

the death of Henry VIII. the office and ceremonial of the Mass remained unaltered, everywhere implying the doctrine of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated elements. In the reign of Edward VI. the first change was the authorisation of the 'Order of the Communion' by royal proclamation in 1548. A main feature in this 'Order,' the administration of the Communion in both kinds to the laity, was in accordance with an enactment of both Parliament and Convocation. The 'Order' itself had been submitted to neither. 'It came forth,' says Archdeacon Perry, 'as though it were simply a State document, without any better claim to acceptance than the will of the Council.'[1] But, unless the restoration of the chalice to the laity was the outcome of some doubt as to the doctrine of concomitance[2] (and it is more likely it was due simply to a desire to comply with what was understood to be the meaning of the command of Christ), no change in doctrine was here implied. For the present the Mass was unaltered, and this 'Order' was merely to be inserted, after the Communion of the priest, in communicating the people. And in what was new the doctrine was old. The phraseology of the prayer, 'Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood, in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in Him, and

[1] Perry, *op. cit.*, ii. 193.

[2] That is, of the complete reception of Christ in either kind.

He in us,' no less than the retention and addition in the words, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life'; 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life,' implied that the consecrated bread and wine are Christ's body and blood. And in one of the notes at the end of the 'Order' it was stated that 'in each' of the 'broken' 'pieces' of the 'consecrated breads' 'the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ' is 'received.'

The 'Order of the Communion' of 1548, thus fitted into the Latin Mass, was the prelude to the 'Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church; after the use of the Church of England' of 1549. This new book expressed the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements. The prayer, the words of administration,[1] and the note already mentioned in the 'Order' of 1548 remained unchanged; the long prayer which took the place of the Latin canon contained the invocation, 'Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech Thee; and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these Thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ'; and it is not

[1] With the alteration that 'thy body and soul' was said in connection with the administration in both kinds instead of 'thy body' with the species of bread and 'thy soul' with the species of wine.

without significance that the word 'Mass' was used in the title the 'Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass,' and that the priest was directed to put upon him 'a white albe plain with a vestment or cope.' It is not clear that this, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., was sanctioned by Convocation:[1] it had the authority of Parliament.

By 1552 the change in Cranmer's opinions had been for some time completed, and the Book of that year, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI., bore the marks of his new belief. The word 'Mass' was omitted from the title of 'the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.' The use of 'alb,' 'vestment,' or 'cope,' was forbidden. The office was broken up with obviously controversial intentions. The prayer that the bread and wine 'may be unto us the body and blood of' Christ was omitted, as was also the order for the 'manual acts' in connection with the words of institution. This latter omission may imply that the recital of our Lord's action at the Last Supper was regarded rather as a mere historical account than as an act of consecration, although it should be noticed that the recital still formed part of a prayer, and so differed from the reading of an account of the institution to the

[1] See Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iii. 5, 6. A different view is taken, however, in Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 50-2.

congregation found in the service-books of the Continental Reformers. In the place of the words of administration formerly used were put the sentences, 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving'; 'Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.' The phrase in the Prayer of Humble Access, 'so to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood,' still remained; but though the exact force of this sentence implied that the consecrated Sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, independently of the faith of the communicant, so minute an indication of this doctrine, standing by itself, could have little weight. There was nothing in the office explicitly to deny the doctrine expressed in the Book of 1549; yet, coming as a revision of that Book, it could hardly have been the work of those who believed the doctrine. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was sanctioned by Parliament; there is no evidence that it was submitted to Convocation; it 'never,' wrote Mr. Wakeman, 'had the slightest claim to any ecclesiastical authority.'[1] After it had been printed, but before most of the copies had been issued by the printer, a declaration on kneeling when receiving the Holy Communion was added on the authority of the Council, in which it was said, 'Lest yet the

[1] Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, p. 296.

said kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body, to be in more places than in one at one time.' By laying stress on the word 'natural,' and on the distinction made by the Council of Trent in 1551 between Christ's presence in heaven 'after the natural manner of being' and His being 'with us sacramentally,'[1] it may be possible to maintain that this declaration did not explicitly deny the 'real and essential presence' of Christ's body and blood in the consecrated Sacrament. Yet, here again, the declaration can hardly be thought to have been drawn up by men who believed in any such presence.

Neither in the Book of 1549 nor in that of 1552 was there any explicit assertion of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In this respect both books were in striking contrast to the pre-Reformation Canon of the Mass.

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xiii., Decr. de S. Euch. Sacr., cap. 1. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 79).

In the First Book the wording of the oblation, 'Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the Institution of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make; having in remembrance His blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' and its position immediately after the consecration, coupled with the general impression as to the presence of Christ conveyed by the office, naturally imply the sacrificial character of the Eucharist. In the Second Book, the placing of the prayer of oblation after the Communion of the people instead of after the consecration, the shortening of its opening sentence to 'O Lord and heavenly Father, we, Thy humble servants, entirely desire Thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' and the general tone of the office suggest that the phrase 'our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' was used less in its natural sense than in that attached to it by Continental Reformers who denied the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist.

As early as 1549 Archbishop Cranmer had framed

a series of articles to which assent might be required as a condition of ministering in the Church of England. In 1551 they were submitted by him to other bishops. In 1552 he laid them before the Council; and on their being returned to him made some additions and sent them to Sir William Cecil and Sir John Cheke and to the king, and subsequently to the six royal chaplains.[1] They are to be found, forty-five in number, written in Latin, in the form which they had taken at this stage in a State paper.[2]

In 1553 the king and the Council ordered Cranmer to draw up a book of articles, and in June of that year the king issued a mandate requiring the subscription of clergy, schoolmasters, and members of the universities on taking their degrees, to a series of articles. These articles, forty-two in number, were but little different from the forty-five articles of the State paper of 1552. Both in the draft and in the articles as officially issued, Zwinglianism, Transubstantiation, and belief in 'the real and bodily presence' were clearly condemned; a 'partaking of the body of Christ' and 'of the blood of Christ' was affirmed, either, as is more probable, in the sense of the Virtualism which Cranmer had come to believe or in that of an actual reception of the body of Christ by the faithful communicant. The combination of four articles of the draft into one article in those

[1] See Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, pp. 73, 74.
[2] See Note X. on p. 298.

finally approved led to the omission of the explicit condemnation of Reservation which the draft had contained in the title 'The Sacrament of the Eucharist not to be kept,' and on this subject left only the statement that the Sacrament was not 'commanded by Christ's ordinance to be kept,' which did not necessarily mean more than that Reservation was not an essential part of obedience to the institution of Christ. As to the sacrifice, both the draft and the later form certainly condemned any opinion which might conflict with the complete efficacy of 'the offering of Christ made once for ever,' and in particular the view that the sacrifice of the cross was offered for original sin only, and the sacrifice of the Mass was a parallel sacrifice offered for actual sins. When it is remembered how easy it would have been to find phraseology which would have repudiated any doctrine of the Eucharist as a sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, it appears to be probable that this article was intended to leave open any further question than those involved in the explicit condemnations which it contains. A title was prefixed to the articles as issued in 1553 in which it was stated that they had received the approval of Convocation. There are reasons for thinking that this statement was untrue,[1] and that, in Mr. Kidd's

[1] There is a careful and very fair discussion of this question in Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, pp. 12-20. Mr. Gairdner says of the statement that the 'Forty-two Articles' had

words, 'the Church of England was not committed to them, even for the brief space of seven weeks which elapsed between their publication by the authority of Edward VI., and his death.'[1]

The opinions about the Eucharist which were in favour at the court, and were becoming increasingly prevalent at the time of the king's death in 1553, may thus be illustrated by Cranmer's two treatises of 1550 and 1551, the Prayer Book of 1552, and the 'Forty-two Articles' of 1553. It is significant that, while Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury and of great influence in Church and State, one of the two chief theologians who replied to his treatise of 1550, Dr. Richard Smith, was a refugee at Louvain, and the other, Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, was imprisoned in the Tower. Bishop Gardiner, in his *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with Confutation of a book written against the same*, published in 1551, asserted, in answer to Cranmer, the doctrine of Transubstantiation as a 'consequent' and 'necessity' 'of the truth of the presence of the substance of Christ's body' 'in the Sacrament,'[2] and the doctrine of the

been approved by Convocation, 'It has been fully proved that this is an official fiction': see his *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 311.

[1] Kidd, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 29.

[2] Gardiner, *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar* (p. 239) in *Writings*

Eucharistic sacrifice. While very distinctly affirming Transubstantiation, and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, he appears to have avoided misconceptions of these doctrines which were current. His belief about the sacrifice necessitates and does not impair the complete efficacy of the sacrifice of Calvary. His teaching about the presence includes the repudiation of carnal ideas as well as the acceptance of Transubstantiation. More than once he refers to the Prayer Book of 1549 as containing 'the most true Catholic doctrine of the substance of the Sacrament.'[1]

Thomas Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, affords an instance of an English Reformer of a more extreme type than Cranmer himself. In spite of his violent and scurrilous and sometimes indecent language, his works have a value as illustrating the thought and methods of the time; and he was a man of learning and ability. He rejected any doctrine of a sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist; and as to the presence appears to have wavered between the Virtualism of Cranmer and the Zwinglian opinion that the Sacrament is merely symbolical of Christ.[2]

and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer relative to the Lord's Supper (Parker Society's Edition).

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 55, 62, 63, 89, 344, 360, 361. See also *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1902, pp. 93-95.

[2] See Becon, *Works* (Parker Society's Edition), *e.g.*, pp. 67, 228, 229, 247, 250, 251, 368, 430. See also *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1902, pp. 95-98.

The instances which have been given illustrate the state of thought in the Church of England at the time when Edward VI. died. The adherents of the traditional doctrines were in disgrace. Those who were prominent and held high office had ceased to believe that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, and that in the Eucharist there is a sacrifice of Christ's body and blood. The most usual opinion among those in positions of power probably was the view of Cranmer, that faithful communicants receive the virtue and grace of the body and blood, though a tendency towards extreme Zwinglianism may also have existed. How far the rejection of the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements had extended among the clergy and laity in general it is impossible to say; and it is of very high importance to remember that the authority of the Church in England cannot be claimed either for the Prayer Book of 1552 or for the Articles of 1553.

In the year 1553 Edward VI. died and Mary became queen. The effect on ecclesiastical affairs was very great. Those hitherto in power were disgraced; those in disgrace became powerful. The imprisonment of Bishop Gardiner came to an end. He was restored to his see of Winchester and appointed Lord Chancellor. Cranmer, on the other hand, was charged with high treason in supporting the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey upon the

throne, and committed to the Tower. Further charges were afterwards brought against him because he had married after he had been ordained a priest, and a second time when he was an archbishop; because he had broken his vow to the Pope; and because of his denial of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Eventually, with Ridley and Latimer he suffered death by being burnt at Oxford. His chaplain Becon, on the ground of his marriage, was deprived of his benefice; was imprisoned in the Tower for seven months as a seditious preacher; and fled to Germany on being released. The alterations made in public worship during Edward's reign were annulled; the use of Latin and of the Missal was restored; in doctrine the position maintained in Church and State was in the main that of the early years of Henry VIII.

The death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth in A.D. 1558 brought about another change. A revised Prayer Book was drawn up. It was not submitted to Convocation. In the House of Lords it was strongly opposed by the bishops. It was passed by Parliament and became law in 1559. The office appointed for the Eucharist was in most respects the same as that in the Prayer Book of 1552. But the few alterations were very significant. The declaration on kneeling which had repudiated 'any adoration' 'to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood' was omitted. The use of the Euchar-

istic vestments of 'the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth,' which included the chasuble, which had been abolished in 1552, was restored. The words of administration of the 1549 Book, which the 'Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.' had abolished, were added to the words ordered in 1552, so that the forms used were, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thine heart by faith, with thanksgiving'; 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.' This last change was characteristic of the policy which was to mark the reign of Elizabeth. The words used in 1549 were those which were associated with the doctrine that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ. The form of 1552 was congenial to the divines who had ceased to believe that doctrine. The union of the two sets of words in 1559 supplies an excellent illustration of the attempt to unite in the National Church both those who held the doctrine and those who denied it.

The 'Eleven Articles' of 1559 or 1560 were the work of the Archbishops of Canterbury[1] and York[2] and other bishops. The clergy were required to

[1] Archbishop Parker. [2] Archbishop Young.

assent to them when admitted to the cure of souls, and afterwards twice in each year. The necessity of Communion in both kinds was affirmed. Masses 'without a just number of communicants' were condemned, as was 'the doctrine that maintaineth the Mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory.' As to the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament no statement was made.[1]

In the absence of any formal approval from Convocation, any authority of Parliament, and any ratification by the Crown, these articles had little authority either in Church or in State. It was intended by the bishops who were responsible that they should serve as a temporary measure while a revision of the 'Forty-two Articles' of 1553 was being made.

In 1563 Convocation considered and revised the 'Forty-two Articles.' Alterations were made in them and they were reduced in number to thirty-eight. These thirty-eight articles were then published with the assent of Convocation and the ratification of the Queen. The repudiation of the operation of the Sacraments, 'of the work wrought,' in what is now the twenty-fifth article, was omitted. The explicit condemnation of the doctrine of 'the real and bodily presence' was struck out from the article

[1] The 'Eleven Articles' are printed in full in Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, pp. 355-359.

'of the Lord's Supper.' Transubstantiation[1] and Zwinglianism were both condemned. It was made possible for those who subscribed the articles to hold any opinion which came between these two extreme doctrines. In the room of the condemnation of 'the real and bodily Presence' a paragraph was inserted, saying 'The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.' In the article 'Of the perfect oblation of Christ made upon the cross,' the only alteration was that 'forged fables' was strengthened into 'blasphemous fables.' A new article was to the effect that the laity ought to receive Communion in both kinds. The draft submitted to Convocation by Archbishop Parker, and agreed to by that body, contained another new article, which dealt with the subject of the reception by the wicked. In the articles as finally published it did not occur.

In 1571 the articles of 1563 received the sanction of both Houses of Parliament. Subsequently they were again revised by Convocation. They were then ratified by the queen, and were issued in their present form, thirty-nine in number. The present twenty-ninth article which declares that, if wicked persons

[1] It is possible that here and elsewhere the condemnation of Transubstantiation was intended to be of a carnal and material form only.

receive Communion, 'in no wise are they partakers of Christ,' which had been struck out of the articles of 1563 between their acceptance by Convocation and the publication of them with the ratification of the queen, was now included.

The articles of 1571, like those of 1563, deny Zwinglianism and Transubstantiation and allow any doctrine about the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist which goes beyond the one and falls short of the other. The paragraph declaring that 'the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten' 'only after a heavenly and spiritual manner,' and that the 'mean' of such reception is 'faith,' and the article denying that wicked communicants are 'partakers of Christ,' have sometimes been claimed as consistent with no other doctrines than those of Cranmer or Calvin. This theory cannot be maintained. When the Elizabethan Articles were compiled Bishop Guest of Rochester believed that all communicants receive the body and blood of Christ, though the reception by the wicked is only to their condemnation. He disliked and opposed the twenty-ninth article, but found it possible to subscribe it; and he explained the paragraph in the twenty-eighth article, which he himself had written, as consistent with a belief in 'the presence of Christ's body' in the Sacrament, and as excluding 'only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof.'[1]

[1] Guest's letters are printed in Hodges, *Bishop Guest*, pp. 22-27. See also *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1903, pp. 324, 325.

The Elizabethan articles then resembled the Prayer Book of 1559. The object of them was to facilitate the inclusion in the Church of England of those who held differing beliefs. Those who, with Luther, rejected Transubstantiation, but believed in a real bodily presence in the consecrated elements, were allowed a place. Room was found also for those who followed Calvin in the rejection of such a presence in the elements, and the assertion that the elect faithful communicants receive the body and blood of Christ. There was no explicit condemnation of those who, like Cranmer, asserted that faithful communicants receive the virtue and grace of Christ's body and blood, but not the body and blood themselves. The article 'Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the cross' explicitly condemned any doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which conflicted with the unique and complete character of the sacrifice of Calvary, or asserted a sacrifice of the Mass which, as a separate offering, was parallel and supplementary to the work of Christ on the cross. It was so worded that it could be subscribed alike by those who held any other doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice than these, and by those who denied a sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist altogether.

The Second Book of Homilies, published in 1563, like the First Book, which was published in the reign of Edward VI., had less authority than the Articles;

and the acceptance of all its statements has never been authoritatively required from any members of the Church of England. But it was declared in the Articles to 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times.'[1] *The Homily of the Worthy Receiving and Reverent Esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* deprecated presence at the Sacrament without Communion; and condemned private Masses, Communion in one kind, the offering of the Eucharist for the departed, and at any rate some forms of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It described that which is received in Communion as 'a heavenly refection, and not earthly'; 'an invisible meat, and not bodily'; 'a ghostly substance, and not carnal'; as 'no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent'; and the communicant was exhorted to 'look up with faith upon the holy body and blood of' 'God,' to 'touch it with the mind,' 'receive it with the hand of' the 'heart,' and to 'take it fully with' the 'inward man.'

The policy adopted in the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth was one of comprehension. The ideal that in one nation there should only be one Church was seen to involve the toleration of differences. This policy met with a large measure of success. Bernard Gilpin, who was successively Vicar of Norton in Durham, Archdeacon of Durham,

[1] On the absence of authority of the Homilies, see a clear statement in Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, pp. 726-728.

and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, who refused the bishopric of Carlisle, was 'wounded,' as he himself says, by denials of the doctrine of the Real Presence. Adrian Saravia, a Prebendary of Canterbury and Westminster, maintained that our Lord with His body and blood is present in the consecrated Sacrament, and therein is to be adored.[1] There are instances also of those who held a different belief, notably Bishop Jewel, Archbishop Grindal, and Archbishop Sandys. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, maintained a position which sometimes recalls that of Bucer,[2] sometimes that of Cranmer.[3] Many passages in his writings suggest the doctrine that the faithful communicant receives only the virtue and grace of the body of Christ; others seem to imply a specific participation of Christ in heaven by means of the Sacrament. On the distinction made by his opponent Harding that the presence of Christ in the Sacrament is not 'local' but 'substantial,' not 'gross' and 'carnal,' but 'spiritual' and 'supernatural,' he expends much contempt, and describes it as 'a sweet mist, to carry away the simple in the dark,' 'a new devised difference,' 'a very toy, only meet to beguile children,' so that those who make it 'dissemble in dark speeches.' His doctrine of the sacrifice is such

[1] See for Gilpin, Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, iii. 414, 419, 420; Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, pp. 130, 131; and for Saravia, his *De Sacra Eucharistia Tractatus*. Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1903, pp. 328-331.

[2] See p. 121, *supra*.

[3] See pp. 141, 142, *supra*.

as to correspond with his doctrine of the presence. There is, he says, a remembrance of Christ's death made to Christians in the Eucharist, and a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. There is not, he maintains, any sacrifice on the altar of the body and blood of Christ.[1] Edmund Grindal, who was successively Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury, held opinions on the Eucharist which, though to some extent marked by the doctrine held by Bucer, resembled for the most part the theory of Cranmer.[2] Edwin Sandys, who was first Bishop of Worcester, then Bishop of London, and finally Archbishop of York, taught much the same doctrine as that of Cranmer. That he held that faithful communicants receive the grace and virtue of the body of Christ is clear. It is possible he allowed that such communicants are so uplifted by faith in the reception of the Sacrament as to have actual participation of the body of Christ in heaven. His doctrine did not admit of any sacrifice in the Eucharist other than such as may be in all good actions, repentance, praise, thanksgiving, and prayer.[3]

[1] See Jewel, *Works* (Parker Society's Edition), *e.g.*, i. 9, 12, 167, 448, 449, 480, 481, 483-485; ii. 726, 729, 735, 1119-1121; iii. 13, 14, 63, 64, 448, 449, 472, 473. Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1903, pp. 331-335.

[2] See Grindal, *Works* (Parker Society's Edition), *e.g.*, pp. 41, 42, 43, 46. Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1903, pp. 335, 336.

[3] See Sandys, *Works* (Parker Society's Edition), *e.g.*, pp. 88, 89, 302-304, 410-415. Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1903, pp. 336-338.

During the reign of Elizabeth, then, representatives may be found of all the doctrines about the Eucharist which the Thirty-nine Articles were intended to allow. Of the policy which thus succeeded there was a remarkable defence in the writings of Richard Hooker. Hooker insisted that by means of the Sacrament there is a real participation in the body and blood of Christ, and consequently in Christ Himself. As to his own belief, he rejected Transubstantiation. But he maintained that, so long as men are agreed that the faithful communicant receives 'the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood,' and so long as this presence is 'sought for' 'in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament,' there is no reason for parting communion because they cannot define alike the method of that presence, or its relation to the consecrated elements, and for seeking for the presence 'in the Sacrament itself.' Consequently he contended that either the affirmation or the denial of Transubstantiation is of little importance, if only it can be agreed about the elements 'that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ.' If there is agreement in this, he says, 'Why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by Consubstantiation, or else by Transubstantiation, the Sacrament itself be first possessed by Christ or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us howsoever it stand, because our participation of Christ in

this Sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of His omnipotent power which maketh it His body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the element such as they imagine we need not greatly to care nor inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider by itself what cause why the rest in question should not rather be left as superfluous than urged as necessary.'[1] Of the Roman, Lutheran, Receptionist, Virtualist, and Zwinglian doctrines, the Articles excluded both the last and the first. Hooker would exclude the Zwinglian and Virtualist, but not the Roman, doctrine. In the main principle of ignoring differences when there is agreement on one momentous point, he is the exponent of the same policy as that which characterises the Articles.

The sacrifice in the Eucharist was, in some senses of the word, denied by Hooker. 'Sacrifice,' he says, 'is now no part of the Church ministry.' 'The Fathers of the Church of Christ' 'call usually the ministry of the Gospel Priesthood in regard of that which the Gospel hath proportionable to ancient sacrifices, namely the Communion of the blessed body

[1] Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. lxvii. 6, 7, 12. In the *Christian Letter* Hooker was attacked for making 'light of the doctrine of Transubstantiation,' when Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and others had died to deny it. In the MS. notes he prepared for his reply, he refers to Transubstantiation as 'false,' but reiterates that there is no reason to prevent Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Anglicans putting aside their differences in view of their agreement. See Keble's note on v. lxvii. 6. Cf. also Bayne's note *in loco*.

and blood of Christ, although it have properly no sacrifice.'[1] In some other sense it was affirmed, for he calls the Eucharist 'a sacrifice of thanksgiving.'[2]

Elsewhere he writes, 'That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish did not so soon become unlawful to be observed as some imagine; nor was it afterwards unlawful so far that the very name of Altar, of Priest, of Sacrifice itself, should be banished out of the world. For though God do now hate sacrifice, whether it be heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had but with impiety; yet unless there be some greater let than the only evacuation of the Law of Moses, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by Him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use, and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth.'[3] On this subject Hooker appears to have left his meaning obscure on purpose. It is impossible to say whether, in speaking of 'a sacrifice of thanksgiving,' he meant to imply more than was believed by the continental reformers

[1] Hooker, *op. cit.*, v. lxxviii. 2. [2] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, v. lxvii. 12.
[3] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, iv. xi. 10.

who used that phrase, or whether, in denying a 'sacrifice,' he meant to reject more than perversions of the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Yet his use of the words 'proportion' and 'proportionable' deserves more attention than it has usually received; they imply, as Mr. Keble pointed out, that the Eucharist is an 'antitype' of the Jewish sacrifices;[1] and it has been said with great force by the Bishop of Oxford, 'he cannot have meant to deny utterly all sacrificial aspect or character in the Eucharist, when he speaks of it as *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices: for a merely alien rite could not be spoken of as proportionable to that which it superseded.'[2]

Of that which is received in Communion, Hooker speaks with great definiteness and eloquence and devotion. 'This Sacrament is a true and a real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself even His whole entire Person as a mystical Head unto every soul that receiveth Him.'[3] 'Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord's Table, to know what there I receive from Him, without searching or inquiring of the manner how Christ performeth His promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true

[1] Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration*, p. 230 (third edition).

[2] Paget, *An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, p. 200. See also pp. 176, 177, for a very valuable statement as to Hooker's teaching in regard to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

[3] Hooker, *op. cit.*, v. lxvii. 7.

devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over patiently heard, let them take their rest; let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the word of Christ giveth plain security that these mysteries do as nails fasten us to His very cross, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force, and virtue, even the blood of His gored side, in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without, our hunger is satisfied and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb and made joyful in the strength of this new wine, this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold, this cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body. . . . What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body and blood of Christ, His promise in witness hereof sufficeth, His word He knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this: O my God, Thou art true, O my soul, thou art happy.'[1]

[1] Hooker, *op. cit.*, v. lxvii. 12.

CHAPTER X

THE COMPLETION OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

The English Reformation cannot be said to have been completed until the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of King Charles II. Between the death of Elizabeth and this revision there is much of interest and importance which bears on the doctrines about the Eucharist held by members of the English Church.

In 1604 the Church Catechism was enlarged by the addition of the questions and answers on the subject of the Sacraments. 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper' was said to be 'ordained' 'for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.' 'The outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper' was described as 'bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.' 'The inward part, or thing signified' was declared to be 'the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.'

'The benefits whereof we are partakers thereby' were defined as 'the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.'

The language of the Catechism was in close accordance with the policy adopted during the reign of Elizabeth. The answer, 'the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper,' is clearly inconsistent with the view of the extreme Zwinglians, that in the Sacrament there are only signs and symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and with the Virtualism of Archbishop Cranmer. But, while it is most easily understood to imply the doctrine that the consecrated elements are Christ's body and blood prior to Communion by virtue of the consecration, there is, on the other hand, no condemnation of the theory that faithful communicants receive the body and blood of Christ by virtue of their faith in connection with their reception of the Sacrament without the elements themselves being more than bread and wine. Yet the expressions used in the Catechism are emphatic. The word 'taken' is used in reference to 'the body and blood of Christ' as well as the word 'received.' The separate questions and answers as to 'the outward part or sign,' 'the inward part or thing signified,' and 'the benefits' correspond to the distinction of 'the sign of the Sacrament,' 'the substance of the Sacrament,' and 'the virtue of the Sacrament.' The

reputed author, Bishop Overall, may have held the doctrine of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament before Communion.[1] But still the language of the Catechism does not explicitly reject or forbid any of the current views about the Eucharist except Virtualism and Zwinglianism.

Similarly, in regard to the Eucharistic sacrifice, the phrase 'the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby' does not compel the acceptance of one or another definite position. It can be used by those who believe that the Eucharist is the sacrificial presentation to God of the body and blood of His Son by the Church on earth, and by those who view it only as recalling the memory of Christ's death to the minds of the worshippers.

At the revision which took place after the return to England of King Charles II. no alteration was made in the Articles of Religion or, apart from the addition of a rubric, in the parts of the Book of Common Prayer which concern the doctrine of the Eucharist. The added rubric was a modified form of the 'Declaration on Kneeling,' which the Council had inserted in the Prayer Book of 1552, which had been omitted in the Elizabethan Book.[2] At the Savoy Conference in 1661 the Presbyterian divines requested that kneeling at the reception of Communion might be optional and that this 'Declaration' might be restored. At

[1] See Note XI. on p. 300.

[2] See pp. 146, 147, 154, *supra*.

the time the bishops replied that kneeling was 'most convenient' and 'most decent,' and that, in view of present circumstances, it was neither necessary nor desirable to restore the 'Declaration.' In the revised Book, however, which was sanctioned by the Church in Convocation in 1661 and by the State in Parliament by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, while kneeling was expressly ordered at the reception of Communion as in earlier Books, the 'Declaration' in its present form was inserted at the end of the Order of Holy Communion. It differed in one very important respect from the corresponding rubric in the Book of 1552. The words 'corporal presence' were substituted for 'real and essential presence.' As the 'Declaration' had stood in 1552, a possible but very unlikely interpretation might have made it consistent with belief in the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine.[1] As altered in 1661, the probability is that the bishops intended it to form an express repudiation only of such carnal views of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament as were rejected also by the Council of Trent.[2]

[1] See pp. 146, 147, *supra*.

[2] See Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, an earlier volume of this series, pp. 316-318. Cf. Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 197. For interpretations that (1) the 'Declaration' in its original form was merely directed against a carnal view of the Sacrament, and that (2) in its present form it is directed against the doctrine of the real presence, see Perry, *Some Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration on Kneeling*; Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 823-860; Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies*, pp. 264, 265.

Thus the Prayer Book of 1662 made no change in the doctrinal position of the Books of 1559 and 1604. The official attitude of the Church of England still left differing explanations of matters of belief lawful for clergy and laity. The Articles of Religion still condemned any doctrine in regard to the Eucharistic presence which, by asserting the removal of the substance of the bread and wine, implied Transubstantiation, and, on the other hand, any doctrine which denied that the faithful communicants receive the body and blood of Christ. The Catechism still declared that 'the body and blood of Christ' 'are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' The words of administration in the Order of Holy Communion still combined the form associated with the assertion of the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements and the form associated with the denial of that doctrine. The use of the Eucharistic vestments, including the chasuble, was still ordered. As regards the sacrifice in the Eucharist, Articles and Prayer Book continued to allow any doctrine by which a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' and a 'remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ' were asserted, and by which the perfection and saving efficacy of the sacrifice offered on Calvary were not impaired. As to both presence and sacrifice, the divines of 1661 and 1662 adopted the policy of their predecessors in condemning certain extremes on both sides, and, those extremes being

excluded, in permitting positions approximating in some respects to those of the Roman Catholics on the one hand and in other respects to those of the Puritans in the opposite direction.

It may be doubted whether these divines realised that their work was to last for centuries. It may well be that they did what they thought best for the moment, and anticipated that another day of revision would soon come. Whatever their expectations in this matter may have been, their actual work was to maintain the Elizabethan policy of comprehension.

This policy of comprehension was a necessity if the Church of England was to continue to include such theologians as were within her bounds during the reigns of James I., Charles I., and Charles II. The most distinguished divine of the time of James I. was Lancelot Andrewes, who was successively Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Ely, and Bishop of Winchester. To him the Eucharist was the chief means of sharing in the benefits of the Incarnation and the Atonement: it enabled Christians to receive the true body of Christ; it afforded them an opportunity of adoring Christ Himself present in the Sacrament, and of presenting to God the Father a commemorative sacrifice. In rejecting Transubstantiation he was careful to say that his quarrel with Roman Catholic theology was not as to the fact of the presence of Christ, but only as to the method, and that if the Roman Catholic theologians would 'take away from the Mass'

their 'Transubstantiation,' there would 'not long be any strife with' the Anglican writers 'about the sacrifice.'[1] William Laud was Bishop of S. Davids in the reign of James I., and successively Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Charles I. His repudiation of Transubstantiation and of the doctrine of concomitance[2] did not hinder him from asserting 'the true substantial presence of Christ' and the 'real presence' of Christ in the Sacrament 'after a mysterious, and indeed an ineffable, manner,' and that in the Eucharist there is 'a commemoration and representation of that great sacrifice offered up by Christ Himself.'[3] William Forbes, who was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh in 1634 and died in the same year, maintained that in the Eucharist the body and blood of Christ are really received 'in a certain spiritual, miraculous, and imperceptible way' by those who communicate worthily; that Christ is to be adored in the Sacrament; and that 'the sacrifice which is offered in the Supper is not merely of thanksgiving but is also propitiatory' and 'profitable' to the departed as well as to the living.[4] Some notes on the Prayer Book at one time ascribed to Bishop Cosin, but pro-

[1] Andrewes's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 53-59.

[2] See pp. 143, *supra*, 214-220, *infra*.

[3] Laud's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 60-66.

[4] See *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 71-73.

bably by another writer, perhaps a nephew of Bishop Overall named Hayward, assert that 'the body and blood of Christ is really and substantially present' as a result of 'the words of consecration' 'after a heavenly and invisible and incomprehensible manner'; that 'the virtue of that consecration is not lost, though the Sacrament be reserved either for sick persons or other'; and that the Eucharist is 'a propitiatory sacrifice.'[1] Thorndike, a divine of great learning, who filled several offices in the reign of Charles I., was Prebendary of Westminster in the reign of Charles II., a member of the Savoy Conference in 1661, and one of those who assisted in the work of the revision of the Prayer Book sanctioned in 1661 and 1662, wrote at great length on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. He rejected Transubstantiation and the ordinary Western opinion that the consecration is effected by the recital of the words 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood.' He held that there is a 'mystical and spiritual presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the elements' not dependent on the faith of the communicants, but granted in response to the prayer of the Church in the Liturgy. The purpose of this presence he defined as being that the communicants might receive Christ. If the Sacrament be carried through the streets merely for the sake of eliciting the adoration of the people, he held that

[1] Cosin, *Works* (Anglo-Catholic Library), v. 119, 120, 131. Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 58, 59.

such adoration was not right, since the Eucharist was being perverted from its proper use; if, however, the Sacrament was being taken through the streets for Communion, for which purpose it ought to be reserved in both kinds, our Lord in it should then be adored, since this use is in accordance with the objects with which He instituted it. In the Eucharist, according to Thorndike, there are four stages of sacrificial action: the oblation of the unconsecrated elements in the offertory, the offering of the prayer for the Church, the consecration, and the dedication of the bodies and souls of the communicants. While, he says, all who are prepared should receive the Sacrament at every opportunity, and the reception of Communion is part of the act of sacrifice, yet those who rightly abstain from Communion on any occasion are not to be deprived of the privilege of being present at the celebration.[1]

On the other hand, a different view of the Eucharist from that expressed with some divergences and with varying degrees of definiteness by the writers already mentioned is found in other theologians of the same period. Richard Crakanthorp was a divine of great learning, who was Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Rector of Black Nobley, in Essex, in the early part of the seventeenth century. He held, like Calvin, that the effect of the consecration was to dedi-

[1] Thorndike's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 63-73.

cate the elements to a holy use, so that the faithful communicants in receiving them might spiritually receive also the body and blood of Christ. He allowed that the Eucharist is a 'commemorative sacrifice' only, though his rejection of the teaching of the Council of Trent on the subject of the Eucharistic sacrifice appears to have been due partly to misunderstanding.[1] Thomas Morton was successively Bishop of Chester, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Bishop of Durham, between 1616 and 1659. His opinions about the Eucharist resembled those of Crakanthorp, though he may have approximated somewhat more to the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. He writes with great indignation of those who, like Andrewes, maintained that the difference between themselves and Roman Catholics as to the presence concerned the manner and not the fact; and of those who, like Hooker, thought the doctrine of Transubstantiation not intolerable if not enforced as of faith.[2] John Cosin was Bishop of Durham in the reign of Charles II. He was a man of great learning, and was one of the leading revisers of the Prayer Book of 1662. He held that 'at the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood once truly offered for us' is commemorated, and that a 'sacramental, spiritual, and real presence' of Christ is granted 'to

[1] Crakanthorp's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 66-69.

[2] Morton's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 69-71.

the souls of all them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him according to His own institution in that holy Sacrament.' Like Crakanthorp and Morton, he explained the effect of the consecration as being to change the 'condition, use, and office' of the bread and wine so to enable those who communicated worthily to receive in their souls the body and blood of Christ.[1] The position affirmed by Jeremy Taylor, who was Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore from 1661 to 1667, appears in his book entitled *Holy Living* to have been much the same as that of Cosin; but in his other writings he expresses virtualistic views like those of Cranmer rather than the receptionist doctrine that the faithful communicants really receive the body and blood of Christ. His teaching about the Eucharistic sacrifice, however, explicitly connects the Eucharist with the offering on Calvary and the high-priestly work of our Lord in heaven.[2]

Different as are the beliefs expressed by different representative writers of the Church of England during this period, the limits of toleration required by the Prayer Book and the Articles of Religion were observed. Though Bishop William Forbes allows that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not 'heretical' or 'impious' or 'blasphemous,' and calls it 'a mark of great rashness' to say that it is impossible, he

[1] Cosin's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 54-58.

[2] Jeremy Taylor's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 59-62.

maintains not only that it is not of faith, but also that it is contrary to Holy Scripture and to the teaching of the Fathers. While Thorndike's statement of belief in the presence of Christ in the Sacrament by virtue of the consecration, drawn up as an Eirenicon, could be accepted by a believer in Transubstantiation as being true so far as it went, he himself repeatedly and explicitly and at length rejects Transubstantiation as contrary to both Scripture and patristic teaching. Both Crakanthorp and Morton, in accepting the opinion of Calvin that the faithful communicants receive the body and blood of Christ, expressly deny the Zwinglian view that the elements are mere signs.

Indeed, even among the Irish Churchmen who were responsible for the Articles of 1615, and among Protestants in England outside the Church, the extreme Zwinglian position was not in favour. In the Irish Articles Zwinglianism as well as Transubstantiation was condemned, and a receptionist opinion as to the presence was definitely accepted in the statement that the body and blood of Christ are 'really and substantially presented unto all those who have grace to receive the Son of God,' so that 'unto such as in this manner do worthily and with faith repair unto the Lord's Table the body and blood of Christ is not only signified and offered, but also exhibited and communicated.'[1]

[1] These articles are in Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, pp. 369-388. Cf. *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1903, pp. 74, 75.

The *Shorter Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly and the *Directory for the Public Worship of God* sanctioned by Parliament in 1641 [2] teach the same.

At a later date Zwinglianism, as will be seen in the next chapter, gained some foothold in the English Church. At the time dealt with in the present chapter, it was not only out of sight within the Church herself, but was also repudiated by the most representative utterances of her Presbyterian opponents.

[1] *Shorter Catechism*, Q. 96.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Hall, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, iii. 56; Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 160.

CHAPTER XI

THE EUCHARIST IN POST-REFORMATION THEOLOGY

Until the second quarter of the eighteenth century is reached there is little of importance to add to what has been said in the last chapter. There is no reason to suppose that during the reigns of James II., William and Mary, and Anne new features differing from those in the reign of Charles II. were found in the Church of England in regard to the Eucharist. The most interesting writings are perhaps those of the non-jurors and their ally within the National Church, John Johnson of Cranbrook. They appear to have held that by consecration the bread and wine were in virtue and power the body and blood of Christ, and that the oblation of these, first as unconsecrated and then as consecrated, together with the offering of prayer and the dedication of the worshippers, constituted a sacrifice.[1]

In 1735 there was a sign that a new element had

[1] This subject is fully treated in *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1903, pp. 75-79.

begun to be prominent in the Church of England. At this time the Latitudinarian school, of which there had been precursors in the seventeenth century in John Hales and William Chillingworth, had come to be of considerable influence. One of its leaders was Benjamin Hoadly, who was successively Bishop of Bangor, Bishop of Hereford, Bishop of Salisbury, and Bishop of Winchester. A book entitled *A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, published anonymously in 1735, was in all probability written by him. The avowed aim of it was to deprecate the great stress laid by some writers of the day, and in some older books still widely used, on the need of careful preparation for Communion, and on the grave peril of communicating unworthily. In the course of it the Eucharist was represented as a merely memorial rite, in which was a bare token and pledge of the promises of God and the privileges of Christians. The violent controversy which followed the publication of this book brought out the facts that this purely Zwinglian view had now many advocates in the Church of England, and that both it and the lax way of regarding Communion which the author of the *Plain Account* had based upon it were felt by many to be contrary to Christian theology and sources of danger to Christian life.[1]

[1] This subject is fully treated in *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1904, pp. 361-369.

The treatise and charges on the Eucharist of Daniel Waterland appear to have been due largely to the teaching of the Nonjurors and the controversy which was the outcome of the *Plain Account*. In them, as in his other works, Dr. Waterland showed great mental abilities and a richly stored mind. But he cannot be regarded as having made good his claim that the position advocated by him is in accordance with Holy Scripture and the theology of the earliest Christian centuries. He indeed avoids and condemns the Zwinglianism of the Latitudinarian school. So far as words are concerned, he says that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, and that in it is the body and blood of Christ. But an examination of his writings on the subject shows that he retained such language only by emptying it of its meaning, and that his theory is merely a reproduction of the virtualism of Cranmer.[1]

From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, in spite of the explicit repudiation of Zwinglianism in the formularies, Zwinglian tenets had their place in the Church of England side by side with the doctrine of Waterland, the receptionist ideas of Calvin, and such assertions of the real presence as had been found in Andrewes and other divines.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of the Oxford Movement. The promoters of it believed that they were restoring to the Church

[1] Waterland's Eucharistic doctrine is treated at length in *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1904, pp. 369-372.

of England her true theology and practice, which had been grievously obscured in careless times. In some matters, as in the doctrine of Holy Baptism, there is no room for doubt that the Church of England is committed to the beliefs which they brought into a new prominence.[1] In regard to the Eucharist it is probable that many of them made the mistake of supposing that the Church of England, in requiring her members to believe that 'the body and blood of Christ' 'are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper,' had intended also an explicit affirmation that the elements become Christ's body and blood at the consecration. As has been seen,[2] the probability is that the Church of England, while suggesting that the consecrated elements before their reception by the communicants are the body and blood of Christ, has abstained from imposing upon her members any more explicit belief than that those who communicate rightly receive, not some indefinite gift of grace, but the very body and blood of their crucified and risen Lord. In supposing that the Church of England of necessity taught the further truth that this marvellous presence of Christ results immediately from the consecration and exists apart from Communion, the Tractarians appear to have read into the formularies of the Church of England that teaching of the ancient

[1] See the volume in this series on *Holy Baptism*, pp. 58-64.
[2] See pp. 154-160, 168-173, *supra*.

Church with which the minds of their leaders were imbued.

It was from Holy Scripture and the Fathers that the theologians of the Oxford Movement derived the beliefs which were to renew the life of the Church of England. Their theological positions were taken up apart from any study of the Middle Ages, or of modern Roman Catholic theology, or of the later East. As time went on it was inevitable that thought should be given to mediæval and later theology. As to the Eucharist, scholars in the Church of England who have studied the subject have been impressed by the uniformity with which, apart from technicalities of definitions and controversies about details, the theologians of the Church have maintained that the consecrated Sacrament is in very truth the body and blood of Christ. In the East the *Orthodox Confession*, the decrees of the Council of Bethlehem, the *Longer Catechism of the Russian Church*, and the Greek Catechisms of the present day bear witness to the continuous acceptance of this belief.[1] The minor differences between the Russians and the Greeks, in which, while both decided to use the word Transubstantiation and both repudiated any philosophical explanation of the term, the Greeks adopted language approximating to the phraseology of the Western schools which the Russians rejected, have not impaired their concurrent testimony that the bread and the

[1] See Note XII. on p. 301.

wine are by virtue of the consecration the body and blood of our Lord. The subtle discussions of the Roman Catholic theologians as to the need of destruction in sacrifice, and, if it is needed, of what kind it be; as to the degree of objectivity which is to be ascribed to the 'accidents' of bread and wine in the consecrated Sacrament; as to the method and nature of the spiritual presence of Christ; and as to the relation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice to the death on the cross and the offering in heaven, have shown existing underneath all differing opinions the belief that at the words of consecration the bread and wine are made to be Christ's body and blood.[1]

At the present time, whatever differences in detail and in inference may exist, and however differently certain terms may be defined, there is agreement among Eastern Christians, Roman Catholics, and the successors of the Tractarians in the Church of England as to that central part of the doctrine of the Eucharist, the expression of which by the English Church Union in 1900 may be cited as a convenient illustration. It was there declared 'that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the bread and wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, become, in and by consecration, according to our Lord's institution, verily and indeed the body and blood of Christ, and that Christ our Lord, present in the same Most Holy Sacrament of the altar under the form of bread

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1904, pp. 388-396.

and wine, is to be worshipped and adored.'[1] Any such statement is not acceptable to, and is sometimes strongly resisted by, those members of the Church of England who avail themselves of the freedom of the English formularies by limiting their positive assertions to a reception of Christ by the faithful communicant, and by those who in disregard of the formularies hold the Zwinglian view.

Both in the Church of Rome and among those English theologians who assert the doctrine of the real presence there has been a strong tendency of late years to lay great stress on the spiritual character of the presence. There are well-known passages in which Cardinal Newman[2] and Cardinal Manning[3] have emphasised this aspect; and a recent Roman Catholic writer, while admitting that 'a grossly carnal and corporal manner of presence was prevalent to some extent before the Council of Trent, and it is to be feared is not altogether extinct to-day,' maintains that 'the *communis sententia theologorum*, in conformity with the doctrine set forth at Trent, is in favour of a spiritual, supernatural, sacramental, as opposed to a corporal, natural, and grossly carnal, manner of being of the presence of our Lord's body and blood in the Eucharist.'[4]

[1] See *Guardian*, June 27, 1900, p. 928.
[2] Newman, *Via Media*, ii. 220, 221.
[3] Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, ii. 31.
[4] Carson, *An Eucharistic Eirenicon*, p. 25.

CHAPTER XII

THE NECESSITY OF COMMUNION AND THE COMMUNION OF INFANTS

The Catechism of the Church of England describes Baptism and the Supper of the Lord as the two Sacraments which are 'generally,' that is universally or for all, 'necessary to salvation.' This assertion of the necessity of Communion is in accordance with the ordinary tradition of the Catholic Church based on the words of our Lord, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves.'[1]

In the technical theology of the West a distinction is made between the necessity which is attached to an instrument necessary for the conveyance of grace, called the 'necessity of the means,' and the necessity which results from a rite being authoritatively commanded as of obligation, called the 'necessity of the

[1] S. John vi. 53. A reference to the Eucharist in this passage does not appear to have been denied till the sixteenth century. See Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, pp. 149, 150 (edition of 1885).

precept.' According to those who make this distinction, Baptism is necessary to salvation for both reasons, Communion only for the latter, since the contact with the Humanity of Christ which is 'necessary as means' is afforded in Baptism without Communion. This is the usual teaching of the Roman Catholic theologians.[1] The accuracy of it may be questioned. The moral law of God appears to require that what is necessary to salvation because of a command is necessary also for some deeper underlying reason. Moreover, our Lord's words, as recorded by S. John, seem to attach the same kind of necessity to the one Sacrament as to the other. 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves'[2] is an exactly parallel expression to 'Except any one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'[3] That any who have been baptized and have died before receiving Communion through no fault of their own will attain to eternal salvation will hardly be questioned by those who appreciate the moral character of divine law, or by those who have noted the bearing of that line of thought in Christian theology to which S. Thomas Aquinas gave terse expression in the words, 'the power of God is not tied down to visible Sacraments.'[4] But it is better to account for

[1] See, *e.g.*, Schouppe, *Elementa Theologiæ Dogmaticæ*, xi. 74-78, xiii. 237, 238.

[2] S. John vi. 53.

[3] S. John iii. 5.

[4] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxviii. 2.

this by that compensating grace which God bestows on those who are prevented from receiving His sacramental grace than by making a distinction which seems to have so little authority between Baptism and Communion in this respect.

The practical question whether Communion ought to be given to those who have not yet attained to years of discretion is closely connected with that of the necessity of Communion. The early Church administered both Confirmation and Communion to the newly baptized without restriction as to age. After their first Communion infants and children were still communicated in the Liturgy. There is a pathetic passage in a treatise of S. Cyprian in which he imagines what will be said at the Day of Judgment by the children whose parents, after bringing them to Baptism and Communion, made them unconsciously share in their own apostasy by taking them to participate in heathen rites. 'Infants,' he says, 'were carried or dragged by the hands of their parents, and lost while little children that which they had obtained at the first beginning of their new birth. Will not they, when the Day of Judgment shall have come, say, "It was not we who did anything; it was not we who left the food and cup of the Lord; it was not we who hurried of our own accord to the infection of the heathen. The treachery of others destroyed us; in our parents we found our murderers. They it was who denied us the Church as our Mother and God as

our Father?"'[1] Further on in the same treatise he records an instance in which Christian parents fleeing from persecution had left their infant daughter in the care of a nurse. During their absence the nurse caused the child to participate in a heathen sacrifice. A little later the mother, not knowing what had happened, took the child with her to the Christian Eucharist. S. Cyprian describes how the infant cried through the service, and, when the time of Communion came, turned her face away to avoid the chalice; and how, when Communion was none the less administered, violent sickness showed that 'the Eucharist could not remain in the body and mouth which had been polluted by heathen rites.'[2] In both passages it is evident that S. Cyprian is referring to a normal practice of giving Communion to infants. This practice may be illustrated also by the Liturgy of the Syrian Church as given in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In the directions for giving Communion it is there said: 'Let the bishop partake, then the presbyters and the deacons and sub-deacons and the readers and the singers and the ascetics, and of the women the deaconesses and the virgins and the widows; then the little children, and then all the people in order with reverence and godly fear without tumult.'[3] There is a similar direction in the *Testament of the Lord*, a Syrian or Cilician document probably of the middle

[1] S. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 9.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 25.
[3] *Const. Ap.*, viii. 13; cf. 6, 12.

of the fourth century: 'Let the priests first receive, thus: the bishops, presbyters, deacons, widows, readers, sub-deacons. After these those that have gifts, those newly baptized, babes.[1] The people thus: old men, celibates, and the rest. The women thus: deaconesses, and after that the rest.'[2] The regulation, referred to in both these rites, that the little children should receive the Communion before the people in general may have been founded on the teaching of our Lord: 'Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven'; 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me; forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'[3] From the other references to infant Communion found in the patristic period it may be sufficient to quote the two passages in which S. Augustine says: 'He who says that the age of infants has nothing for Jesus to save denies that Christ is Jesus to all Christian infants. He who says, I maintain, that the age of infants has nothing in it for Jesus to save says nothing else than that Christ our Lord is not Jesus to Christian infants, that is, to infants who have been baptized in Christ. For what is Jesus? Jesus means Saviour. Jesus is the Saviour. He is not Jesus to those whom He does

[1] 'The Syriac word for "babes" means either infants or children under five.'—Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, p. 178.

[2] *The Testament of our Lord*, i. 23.

[3] S. Matt. xviii. 3; S. Mark x. 14. Cf. Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, p. 76, note 5.

not save through there being nothing in them for Him to save. Now if your hearts can bear that Christ is not Jesus to any who are baptized, I know not whether your faith can be recognised in a healthy rule. They are infants, but they are His members. They are infants, but they receive His Sacraments. They are infants, but they are partakers of His Table, that they may have life in themselves';[1] 'For the life of little children was that flesh given which was given for the life of the world; and if they shall not have eaten the flesh of the Son of man neither will they have life.'[2]

The primitive practice of giving Communion to infants has been continuously preserved in the Churches of the East. A brief statement of the Oriental custom is in the *Confession* of Metrophanes Critopulus, who was Patriarch of Constantinople in the seventeenth century: 'Even infants, from the very time of their Baptism, partake as often as their parents desire'; 'As it is necessary for babes to be baptized, so is it for them to partake of the Supper of the Lord.'[3] At the present time babes and little children still receive Communion in the Greek and Russian and other Eastern Churches and in the bodies

[1] S. Augustine, *Serm.* clxxiv. 7.

[2] *Idem*, *De pecc. mer. et remis.*, i. 27. In the two passages quoted it is clear that S. Augustine is referring to the Holy Communion. In some other passages he may refer to a gift of the body and blood of Christ in Holy Baptism.

[3] *Confession of Metrophanes Critopulus*, 9 (Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, ii. 125).

of Eastern Christians which are in communion with Rome. The Russian theologian Khomiakoff, though writing in terms of great freedom and hopefulness as to the state of those children who have not yet received sacramental grace, has emphasised the obligation of bringing infants to Communion as well as to Baptism and Confirmation. 'We know,' he says, 'that there are many persons who have not christened their children, and many who have not admitted them to Communion in the Holy Mysteries, and many who have not confirmed them: but the Holy Church understands things otherwise, christening infants and confirming them and admitting them to Communion. She has not ordained these things in order to condemn unbaptized children, whose angels do alway behold the face of God: but she has ordained this according to the spirit of love which lives within her, in order that the first thought of a child arriving at years of discretion should be not only a desire, but also a joy for Sacraments which have been already received. And can one know the joy of a child, who, to all appearances, has not yet arrived at discretion? Did not the prophet, even before his birth, exult for joy concerning Christ? (S. Luke i. 41). Those who have deprived children of Baptism and Confirmation and Communion are they who, having inherited the blind wisdom of blind heathendom, have not comprehended the majesty of God's Sacraments, but have required reasons and uses for everything, and having

subjected the doctrine of the Church to scholastic explications, will not even pray unless they see in the prayer some direct goal or advantage. But our law is not a law of bondage or of hireling service, labouring for wages, but a law of the adoption of sons, and of love which is free.'[1]

The custom of communicating infants gradually fell into disuse and was eventually forbidden in the West. Infant Communion is referred to as the rule of the Church in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, in different forms of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, and occasionally even as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.[2] But in practice the neglect of their dioceses by many bishops led to the postponement of Confirmation, and with it of Communion;[3] and the withdrawal of the chalice, from which alone babes were communicated, from the laity tended in the same direction. Thus the cessation of infant Communion in the West was the result of two of the abuses of the Middle Ages.

One of the subjects discussed with great care at the Council of Trent was 'whether it be necessary by the law of God to give this most high Sacrament,' that is of the Eucharist, 'to little children before they have reached years of discretion.'[4] As a result of

[1] See Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, i. 215, 216.

[2] See Note XIII. on p. 303.

[3] See the volume in this series on *Holy Baptism*, pp. 179, 180.

[4] See the report of the discussions in Theiner, *Acta genuina SS. Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini*, ii. 7-55.

its consideration the Council decided to maintain the custom then in vogue of withholding Communion from infants. At the session held on June 16, 1562, a doctrinal statement was agreed upon to the effect that while Communion was not necessary for little children, the ancient practice of giving it to them was not to be condemned; and in the fourth canon of this session it was declared: 'If any one shall say that the Communion of the Eucharist is necessary to little children before they come to years of discretion, let him be anathema.'[1] The *Catechism* drawn up by the command of the Council was more strongly expressed than the decree of the Council. In it was said: 'Although this law, sanctioned by the authority of God and of the Church, concerns all the faithful, yet it must be taught that those are excepted who because of tender age do not yet possess the use of reason. For these neither know how to discern the sacred Eucharist from profane and common bread, nor can bring to the reception of it piety of mind and religion. And this also seems most alien from the institution of Christ; for he says: "Take and eat." And it is quite clear that infants are not fit to take and eat. It is true that in some places the custom of giving the Holy Eucharist even to infants was ancient; but nevertheless this has now been long discontinued by the authority of the same Church, both for the reasons which have been mentioned and

[1] Council of Trent, Sess. xxi.

for other reasons which are most consonant to Christian piety.'[1]

Like the Church of Rome, the Church of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries retained the late custom of withholding Confirmation and Communion from infants. Communion was restricted in ordinary circumstances to the confirmed; and Confirmation was directed to be administered to those who had 'come to years of discretion' and knew the Catechism, which was drawn up 'to be learned of every person before he be brought to be confirmed by the bishop.' The same restriction was involved in the instruction ordered to be given by the priest to the godparents of newly baptized children: 'Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him so soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose.' The ordinary custom in the Church of England at the present time, by which Confirmation and Communion are often postponed till the age of fifteen or later, is a still further departure from the mind and methods of the primitive Church than the rule restricting these two Sacraments to those who have reached years of discretion and can say the Catechism.

Four reasons are given by Bingham in his learned book on *The Antiquities of the Christian Church* why,

[1] *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, II. iv. 60.

after showing that the primitive Church had administered Communion to infants, he did not go on to advocate the restoration of the custom. Firstly, he said, it had 'no firm foundation in the word of God'; secondly, 'infants which are baptized are in effect partakers of the body and blood of Christ, which are exhibited spiritually in Baptism as well as the Eucharist'; thirdly, 'infants cannot do this in remembrance of Christ'; and, fourthly, 'there is the same analogy and agreement between the Paschal lamb and the Lord's Supper as there is between circumcision and Baptism.'[1]

Neither the reasons mentioned by Bingham nor those given by the Catechism of the Council of Trent can be held to afford a satisfactory defence of the later Western practice. Whatever reasons are afforded by Holy Scripture and the practice of the primitive Church for the Baptism of infants apply also to the Communion of infants. The need of the grace derived from the reception of the body and blood of Christ does not begin at the age of nine or of ten or of twelve or of fifteen years. The unconscious infant and the growing child would not necessarily be more irreverent than many adults.

Doubtless a practice of administering Communion to babes and young children would require the careful exercise of the authority of the rulers of the Church. Like other good customs it would call for

[1] Bingham, *Works*, v. 179, 180 (edition of 1840).

care and regulation. But it is not an act of wisdom to abandon things that are good because they need to be controlled.

As has been already said, it is not to be questioned that baptized children who, without fault of their own, have not received Communion before death, are granted by God some measure of compensatory grace. That consideration does not remove the fear of the loss to spiritual life which may have resulted from the withholding of Communion, through century after century, from babes and young children in the West.

The present writer believes that the tendency of his mind is to attach great importance to the traditions of the West, and to be very slow in wishing for changes in established religious customs. In this matter the careful study and thought of many years have failed to show him justification for the Western refusal of Communion to those who have not reached years of discretion. While he would strongly deprecate any hasty or rash interference with the methods which long use has sanctioned, it is a hope very near his heart that at some future day Western Christendom may at length by well-considered and wisely taken steps retrace what he cannot but regard as a wrong path and restore the practice of the primitive Church.

It is not undeserving of notice that some of the Nonjurors, in their desire to return to the methods of early Christianity, restored the Confirmation and

Communion of infants. A good instance of their teaching may be seen in Deacon's *Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Christianity*, published in 1747, the author of which was one of those who were consecrated bishops among the Nonjurors. In this book the Eucharist is said to be necessary for infants as well as adults on the grounds that 'our Saviour's command' for the reception of it 'is universal,' and that infants as well as adults need the divine life which is therein conveyed.[1]

[1] Deacon, *A Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Christianity*, p. 79. There is an excellent account of Thomas Deacon in Overton, *The Nonjurors*, pp. 354-363.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MATTER AND FORM AND MINISTER OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

The word 'matter' is the technical theological term by which the thing employed in the administration of a Sacrament is described. The matter in the Holy Eucharist is bread and wine. The accounts of the institution of the Sacrament in the New Testament record that our Lord blessed and distributed to His disciples 'bread' and 'the cup.'[1] The reference to 'the fruit of the vine' in His words makes it clear that 'the cup' contained wine; and this would be the case whether the ceremonial observances which He utilised in the institution of the Eucharist were those of the Jewish Kiddush, or weekly sanctification of the Sabbath, or those, as is more likely, of the Passover.[2] Though certain heretical sects in the early days of Christianity used water in the cup instead of wine, the constant tradition of the Catholic Church has been to

[1] S. Matt. xxvi. 26-29; S. Mark xiv. 22-25; S. Luke xxii. 17-20; 1 Cor xi. 23-26.

[2] See Note 1. on p. 289.

require the use of wine. The theory of a learned historian that at the first the Church allowed the use of water alone in the chalice is usually and justly regarded as the fantastic notion of a brilliant scholar.[1] At the present time, as continuously in the past, bread and wine are accounted the necessary matter of the Sacrament both in the East and in the West.

Yet a fierce controversy, not set at rest even now, has raged round the question of the character of the bread. On the assumption, which is probably correct, that the setting of the institution of the Sacrament was supplied by the ceremonies of the Passover, the bread which our Lord used would be unleavened. Since about the end of the ninth century the usual custom in the West has been to use unleavened bread, so as to make this detail correspond more closely with the action of our Lord.

In the sixteenth century the kind of bread which it is desirable to use in the Holy Communion was discussed both in the Church of Rome and in the Church of England. In the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* it was said that, though a consecration of leavened bread would be valid, the rule of the Church requiring the use of unleavened bread was to be complied with.[2]

[1] The suggestion was made by Dr. Harnack in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VII. ii. It was answered by Dr. Zahn (*Brot und Wein im Abendmahl der alten Kirche*) and others in Germany ; and in England by Dr. Headlam in the *Classical Review*, February 1893, pp. 63, 64. Cf. Sanday in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 638.

[2] *Cat. Conc. Trid.*, II. iv. 13, 14.

The English Prayer Book of 1549 ordered the continuance of the use of unleavened bread in the rubric: 'For avoiding of all matters and occasion of dissension it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleavened and round, as it was afore; but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces: and every one shall be divided in two pieces at the least or more, by the discretion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.' In the Prayer Book of 1552 this rubric was altered so as to remove the provision for a uniform custom throughout the realm. The new regulation left unleavened bread lawful, but no longer made it obligatory. 'To take away,' it was now said, 'the superstition which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten.' The rubric has since remained in the same form in the English Prayer Books except for verbal changes and the alteration of its opening words to, 'To take away all occasion of dissension and superstition' in the Book of 1662. The object of the phrase 'it shall suffice' apparently was to leave it open for the

officiant to substitute ordinary bread for unleavened bread if he should wish, but not to order him to do so; and this interpretation is clearly supported by the order for the use of wafer bread in the Injunctions issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1559,[1] and the letter in which Archbishop Parker explained that these words were permissive only.[2] It is in accordance with the attitude adopted in this rubric that Hooker wrote: 'In the word of God the use of bread is prescribed, as a thing without which the Eucharist may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread it is not denied to be a thing indifferent.'[3]

In the West at the present time, then, the Church of Rome orders the use of unleavened bread, while allowing the validity of the consecration of bread that is unleavened; and the Church of England leaves it to the discretion of the officiant to use either leavened or unleavened bread.

The Eastern custom is different from that which has been usual in the West. The Armenians and Maronites, like the Westerns in general, use unleavened bread. With this exception the practice throughout the East is to use leavened bread;[4] Eastern controversialists have made the opposite custom a ground of persistent and violent attack; in the Middle Ages the rejection of the use of

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i. 234.
[2] *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 375, 376.
[3] Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, IV. x. 3.
[4] See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 571, 572.

'Azymes' or unleavened bread was an Eastern watchword.

It is probable that the loaf used by our Lord at the institution of the Sacrament was round in shape and divided into pieces by Him at the distribution. There is little evidence as to the shape of the bread used in the early Church. Probably for centuries the bread used for the Sacrament was selected from that brought by the people as an offering in the place of alms. Possibly two offerings may have been made by the faithful, one of ordinary food, the other of a special kind of bread and of wine for use at the altar.[1] The *Liber Pontificalis* ascribes to Zephyrinus, who was Bishop of Rome from 197 to 217 A.D., an order that the presbyters were to distribute to the people a 'consecrated round,'[2] a statement which, whatever its authority, probably refers to the Eucharistic bread. Similar expressions are found in regard to the fourth and following centuries. S. Epiphanius, writing with reference to the institution of the Sacrament by our Lord, but probably having the custom of his own time in view, speaks of the bread as 'round.' S. Gregory the Great refers incidentally to the bread used in the Sacrament as 'rounds of oblations.'[3]

A passage in S. Chrysostom may perhaps imply that

[1] There is still at Milan a survival of the bringing of the elements by the people at the offertory.

[2] *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 20 (Mommsen's edition).

[3] S. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 57; S. Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, iv. 55.

there was a custom of marking the bread with a cross. The cross, he says, 'shines forth on the Holy Table, in the Ordinations of the priests, and with the body of Christ at the mystic Supper.'[1] In the Middle Ages in the West it was customary to use a small round wafer for the people and a larger round wafer for the celebrant, both marked with a cross or representation of the crucifixion or other device. This has remained the custom in the Church of Rome. The English rubric of 1549, already quoted, ordered that the bread should be round but 'without all manner of print'; those of 1552 and 1662 left all such matters open; the Injunctions of 1559 directed that the round wafers, the use of which was then contemplated, should be 'plain without any figure thereupon.'[2]

The ordinary practice in the East is for the Eucharistic bread to consist of a round cake about five inches in diameter, in the midst of which a square of about two inches is stamped. This square is divided by a cross into four squares, each of which is inscribed with a contracted form of the words 'Jesus Christ conquers,' with apparent reference to the resurrection of our Lord. The separated Eastern bodies have different customs. The Copts use a round cake somewhat smaller than that of the Orthodox Easterns. The words of the Trisagion, 'Holy is God, holy, strong, holy, immortal,' are inscribed round the edge. Inside

[1] S. Chrysostom, *Quod Christus sit Deus*, 9.
[2] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i. 234.

the inscription the cake is marked with a cross which consists of twelve squares, each of which, as well as each of the spandrels, is stamped with the cross placed diagonally. Among other bodies similar but less complicated marks are used. The Maronites and Armenians, as in the use of unleavened bread, resemble the Westerns in the formation of the bread; and among the latter the wafer is stamped with the crucifix and the name of our Lord surrounded by an ornamental border.[1]

It is in a high degree probable that the wine used by our Lord at the institution of the Sacrament was mixed with water. Pure wine was rarely drunk in ancient times. The Passover cup was ordinarily of wine and water. The custom of the early Church was to mingle water with the wine. From the second century onwards reference is habitually made to the mixture as a matter of course. Among those who mention it are S. Justin Martyr,[2] Abercius, Bishop of Hierapolis, and S. Irenæus[3] in the second century, and S. Cyprian[4] in the third. The reference to it in the epitaph which Abercius wrote for his own tomb occurs in a sentence of great interest: 'Everywhere faith led the way, and set before me for food the Fish from the fountain, mighty and stainless (whom a pure virgin grasped), and gave this to friends to eat

[1] See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 571, 572.
[2] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 65.
[3] S. Irenæus, *C. Hær.*, v. ii. 2, xxxvi. 2.
[4] S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, lxiii. 2, 13.

always, having good wine and giving the mixed cup with bread.'[1]

The use of the mixed chalice formed part of the rite of all the ancient Liturgies, except the Armenian.[2] In this the Church both acted in accordance with the methods of the time as to the use of wine and followed the example of Christ at the institution. Mystical reasons for the mixture were also borne in mind. S. Cyprian, after referring to it as imitating what Christ did, says further: 'In the water the people is understood, in the wine the blood of Christ is shown. When water is mixed with wine in the cup, the people are united to Christ, and the multitude of the believers are linked and joined to Him in whom they have believed. This linking and joining of water and wine is so mingled in the cup of the Lord that the mixture cannot be divided. Wherefore the Church, that is, the multitude faithfully and firmly set in the Church, persevering in that which it has believed, nothing can separate from Christ so that it should fail to hold fast and abide in undivided love. Thus in sanctifying the cup of the Lord water cannot be offered alone, as neither can wine be offered alone. For if any one offer wine by itself, the blood of Christ begins to be without us; but if the water be alone, the people begin to be without Christ.'[3] Later some of the Liturgies

[1] See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 480.
[2] See Brightman, *op. cit.*, i. 582.
[3] S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, lxiii. 13.

connect the water and wine with the water and blood which flowed from our Lord's side,[1] or with the union of Godhead and Manhood in the Incarnation.[2] The symbolism of the water and blood from our Lord's side is mentioned also in the treatise *On the Sacraments* ascribed by some to S. Ambrose.[3] The Council of Trent, in the doctrinal statement on the sacrifice of the Mass, mentioned as reasons why priests should mix water with the wine in the chalice that our Lord is believed to have so done, that water as well as blood flowed from His side, and that the mixture symbolises the union of the people with Christ.[4] The Armenians, whose practice has been thought by some to be connected with their rejection of the ordinary language of the Church in regard to the two natures of our Lord, were censured by the Council *in Trullo* in 692 for their use of wine unmixed with water; and that Council decreed that any bishop or priest who should fail to mix water with the wine in offering the sacrifice should be deposed 'as imperfectly proclaiming the mystery and altering the tradition.'[5]

In the Eastern rites and in some of the Western the chalice was mixed as a preparatory part of the Liturgy. The usual Western practice has long been

[1] *Missale Ambrosianum.* [2] *Missale Romanum.*

[3] *De Sacramentis*, v. 4.

[4] *Conc. Trid.*, Sess. xxii., *De Sacr. Missæ*, cap. vii.

[5] Council *in Trullo*, canon 32 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii. 1672, 1673). On the reasons connected with the mixture in the chalice, see Benson, *Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work*, pp. 292, 293.

for the mixture to be made in the course of the rite, whether after the Epistle or after the Gospel or after the Creed. Possibly this method is a survival of the primitive custom by which the wine and water were separately brought by the people and then mixed by the officiant.

In the English Prayer Book of 1549 the minister was directed to mix the water with the wine at the offertory, 'putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair and convenient cup prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean water.' In the Prayer Book of 1552 and in all the subsequent English Books the direction to add water to the wine in the cup was omitted. Different opinions have been held as to the practical effect of this alteration of the rubric. The omission of the order for the mixed chalice has been thought by some to be equivalent to a prohibition either of the mixing of the cup at the offertory or of the use of a cup previously mixed. Others have thought that it left the mixing of the chalice at the offertory to the option of the celebrant. Archbishop Benson of Canterbury, in his judgment in the ritual suit of Read and Others *v.* the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, interpreted the omission to be a removal of the mixture from the offertory 'in accordance with ancient, primitive, and very general use of most churches,' but said also that no alteration was made in 'the all but universal use of a mixed

cup from the beginning'; that there was no prohibition of 'the use of a cup mixed beforehand'; that 'without order' 'no person had a right to change the matter in the chalice'; and that 'wine alone may have been adopted by general habit but not by law.'[1]

In the Byzantine rite as used in the Orthodox Churches of the East, the chalice is mixed by the deacon as part of the Prothesis or preparatory office. At the mixture the deacon addresses the priest, 'Bless, Master, the holy union'; and the priest's words of blessing are, 'Blessed be the union of Thy saints always, now, and for ever, and unto the ages of the ages, Amen.'[2] In the Church of Rome, apart from some specially privileged rites, the chalice is mixed at the offertory. At the High Mass the wine is poured into the chalice by the deacon, the water by the subdeacon. At the Low Mass the celebrant pours in both himself. In either case the celebrant says the prayer: 'God, who didst wonderfully create and still more wonderfully restore the dignity of the nature of man, grant unto us that by the mystery of this water and wine we may be made partakers of the Godhead of Him who deigned to become partaker of our humanity, Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord.'[3]

There have been many condemnations in the Church of the use of any other matter than wine.

[1] *Read and Others* v. *the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, Judgment, p. 13.
[2] See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 357.
[3] *Missale Romanum.*

It is sometimes stated by both Roman Catholic and other writers that Pope Innocent VIII. in the fifteenth century gave permission to the Norwegians to celebrate without wine because of the difficulty experienced in preserving wine in their climate.[1] Such an act is in itself so improbable that it can hardly be credited without better evidence for it than exists.[2]

In the early Church Communion was administered and received in both kinds in all ordinary cases. The New Testament does not give any hint of any other practice than the reception of both the bread and the cup. When S. Ignatius speaks of the 'one cup for union with the blood of' Christ,[3] he evidently refers to a means of union within the reach of all Christians. S. Justin Martyr explicitly mentions the reception of 'the bread and the wine and water' by all the communicants.[4] The evidence for this fact is so clear that Cardinal Bona, though defending the restriction of the chalice to the celebrant, wrote: 'It is certain that all in general, clergy and laity, men and women, anciently received the holy mysteries in both kinds when they were present at the solemn celebration of

[1] See, *e.g.*, Baluze in Benedictine S. Cyprian, p. 477. At the Council of Basle, John of Ragusa ascribed to Innocent III. the opinion that either species might be consecrated without the other: see Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 1718. At the Council of Trent, Alphonsus Salmeron spoke of the Norwegians being allowed to celebrate with only the species of bread: see Theiner, *Acta Genuina SS. Œcumenici Conc. Trid.*, i. 492.

[2] Cf. Benson, *Cyprian*, pp. 290, 291.

[3] S. Ignatius, *Ad Philad.*, 4.

[4] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 65.

them, and both offered and were partakers.' 'The faithful always and everywhere, from the very beginning of the Church even to the twelfth century, communicated under the form of bread and wine.'[1]

There appear to have been two exceptions to the practice of receiving Communion in both kinds. It is probable that infants were communicated in the species of wine only, both from the nature of the case and because S. Cyprian in a passage already referred to mentions the chalice as if it was received by the infant in the history he records without any previous administration of the species of bread. While in the middle of the second century S. Justin Martyr's account seems to imply that those to whom the Sacrament was carried direct from the celebration received it in both kinds,[2] the usual method of reservation a little later appears to have been in the species of bread only. Both Tertullian and S. Cyprian speak of the reserved Sacrament in a way which would be difficult to understand apart from reservation in the species of bread without the species of wine. On the other hand, S. Jerome and S. Chrysostom early in the fifth century speak of the species of wine in connection with the reserved Sacrament.[3]

To the present time Communion in both kinds in

[1] Bona, *Rer. Liturg.*, ii. 18. [2] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 65, 67.
[3] Tertullian, *De Orat.*, 14, *Ad Uxor.*, ii. 4, 5; St. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 26. Cf. the treatise *De Spectaculis*, 5, of which it is doubtful whether it is by S. Cyprian; S. Jerome, *Ep.*, cxxv. 20; S. Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Innoc.*, i. 3.

ordinary cases has remained the custom of the Eastern Churches, as it is also among the Eastern Christians in communion with the Church of Rome.

In the West the chalice was gradually withdrawn from all communicants except the celebrant. Writing near the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century, S. Thomas Aquinas says that 'certain Churches' and 'many Churches' do not give the chalice to the laity.[1] More than a century and a half before a beginning had been made in the withdrawal. Cardinal Bona mentions as his earliest instance that Rudolphus, the Abbot of S. Tronc, about the year 1110 advocated that the cup should not be administered to the laity for two reasons: firstly, to prevent the risk of accident; and secondly, to prevent the simple people from imagining that the whole Jesus was not in either species.[2] Some thirty years later Robert Pulleyn refers to the withholding of the cup from the laity as if it was the ordinary custom known to him.[3] After the time of S. Thomas Aquinas the two methods continued for a while side by side. To give two English instances: in 1281 a Constitution of Archbishop Peckham speaks of the celebrant only receiving the species of wine 'in the lesser churches';[4] and in 1287 a Council held at Exeter referred to the reception of 'that which was

[1] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxxx. 12.
[2] Bona, *Rer. Liturg.*, ii. 18.
[3] Pulleyn, *Sent.*, viii. 3 (Migne, *P. L.*, clxxxvi. 964).
[4] *Conc. Lambeth.*, cap. 1 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 862).

shed from the body of Christ' by the laity 'in the cup.'[1] The Council of Constance in 1415 made Communion in one kind for the laity the law of the Western Church. In the thirteenth session of this Council it was declared: 'This custom has been reasonably introduced to avoid certain dangers and scandals, that, though in the primitive Church this Sacrament was received by the faithful in both kinds, yet afterwards it was received by the celebrants in both kinds, and by the laity only in the species of bread, since it is most firmly to be believed, and in no way to be doubted, that the whole body and blood of Christ are really contained in the species of bread as in the species of wine. Wherefore, since this custom has been reasonably introduced by the Church and the holy fathers, and has long been observed, it is to be held for law, which a man may not condemn or change at his will without the authority of the Church.'[2] The claim that the laity might communicate in both kinds was the chief demand made by the more moderate section of the followers of Hus known as the Utraquists or Calixtines. In the 'compacts' with the Bohemians the Council of Basle allowed that those adults who should wish to receive the Sacrament in both kinds might do so. Both in this document and in the decree issued in its thirtieth session in 1437, the Council declared that the whole Christ is

[1] *Conc. Exon.*, cap. 4 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 1078).
[2] Council of Constance, Sess. xiii. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 381).

received in either kind; and in the decree statements similar to those of the Council of Constance on the subject were made.[1]

The question of Communion in one or both kinds was considered with great care at the Council of Trent. In June 1562 canons were agreed to declaring, 'If any one shall say that it is of the command of God and of necessity for salvation that all and each of the faithful of Christ ought to receive both kinds of the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, let him be anathema'; 'If any one shall say that the Holy Catholic Church was not induced by good causes and reasons to communicate the laity and also the clergy when not celebrating in the species of bread only, or has erred in this, let him be anathema'; 'If any one shall say that the whole and perfect Christ, the Source and Author of all grace, is not received under the one species of bread because, as some falsely assert, the Sacrament is not in this case received in accordance with the institution of Christ Himself under both kinds, let him be anathema.' To these canons was added a statement that the question whether Communion in both kinds should be permitted in some places and circumstances was postponed for further consideration.[2] After much discussion the Council was unable to come to a definite decision on this

[1] Council of Basle, Sess. xxx. (A.D. 1437), (Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 1244: cf. viii. 1096, 1097).

[2] Council of Trent, Sess. xxi. (Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 122).

point, and a decree was passed by a majority reserving it for submission to the Pope.[1]

The *Catechism of the Council of Trent* was drawn up in accordance with the decree of the Council, and was published in 1566 with the authority of Pope Pius v. It was stated in the *Catechism* that no one except the celebrant was to receive Communion in both kinds 'without the authority of the Church.'[2] The permission thus contemplated in some cases has been very sparingly given in the Church of Rome, apart from the Uniats, or Eastern Christians in communion with Rome, who in this, as in other matters, follow the usage of their own rite. The leave given by Pope Clement vi. to the King of France[3] to communicate in both kinds has never been withdrawn; and as late as 1825 King Charles x. received Communion in both kinds at his coronation.[4] It has been the custom, when the Pope celebrates Solemn Mass, for the deacon and subdeacon to receive from the chalice as well as the species of bread.[5] And as late as the eighteenth century the deacon and subdeacon used to receive in both kinds at Solemn Mass on Sundays and high festivals in the Church of S. Denis, near Paris, and in the church of Clugny.[6]

[1] Hardouin, *Concilia*, x. 135; Theiner, *Acta Genuina SS. Œcumenici Conc. Trid.*, ii. 127-129.

[2] *Cat. Conc. Trid.*, ii. iv. 63.

[3] See De Lugo, *De Sacram. Euch.*, xii. iii. 68.

[4] *Annual Register*, May 1825, p. 75.

[5] Addis, Arnold, and Scaunell, *A Catholic Dictionary*, p. 223.

[6] *Ibid.*

Five reasons were added in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* to justify the refusal of the chalice to the laity: first, to prevent profanation; second, to prevent corruption when the Sacrament was reserved for the sick; third, because many could not bear the taste or smell of wine; fourth, because of the scarcity of wine in some places; and fifth, to overthrow the opinion that the whole Christ was not under each species.[1]

Even among those who denied the chalice to the laity there appears to have been a sense that some special grace was connected with the reception of the species of wine. The Bull of Pope Clement VI., already referred to, mentioned that the permission to the King of France to receive Communion in both kinds was granted 'for the greater increase of grace.'[2] Whether Francis Blanco, then Bishop of Orenze, afterwards Archbishop of Compostella, was right or wrong in saying that the bishops at Trent unanimously believed that there is a special grace connected with the species of wine, it is clear that very many of them were unwilling to refuse the chalice to the laity in all cases.[3] Of the Roman Catholic theologians who have discussed the subject since the Council of Trent, the high authorities of Vasquez[4]

[1] *Cat. Conc. Trid.*, II. iv. 64.

[2] See De Lugo, *De Sacram. Euch.*, XII. iii. 68.

[3] See the discussions in Theiner, *op. cit.*, ii. 96-129.

[4] Vasquez, *Comm. in S. Thom. Aq.*, III. lxxx., disp. ccxv. cap. 2.

and De Lugo[1] are among those who regard the assertion of a special grace connected with the reception of the species of wine as the more probable opinion. Some such thought may have been in the mind of S. Thomas Aquinas when he connected the reception of the species of bread with the weakness of the Apostles and of the species of wine with their sadness in the words:

> He gave them, weak and frail,
> His flesh, their food to be;
> On them, downcast and sad,
> His blood bestowèd He,[2]

though he wrote elsewhere that 'no loss results' from receiving in one kind only.[3] Bishop Alexander Forbes expressed the thought of many theologians when he said, 'While the Sacrament under one kind conveys all the graces necessary to salvation, the chalice has a special grace of its own,—the grace of gladdening.'[4]

It is difficult to understand that any one, who has realised that the presence in the Eucharist is of the living, spiritual body and blood of the risen and glorified Christ, can doubt that He is wholly present with both His body and His blood in either species.

[1] De Lugo, *op. cit.*, XII. iii. 67-81.

[2] Dedit fragilibus corporis ferculum,
Dedit et tristibus sanguinis poculum.

This hymn now forms part of the Latin Office for Matins on the feast of Corpus Christi.

[3] S. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T.*, III. lxxx. 12 *ad* 3.

[4] Forbes, *An Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 599.

The notion that the bread is His body but not His blood, and that the wine is His blood but not His body, would seem inseparably connected with a carnal and materialistic view. The living Christ, now glorified in heaven, is one and indivisible. But that, apart from an absolute impossibility of doing so, all should receive the Sacrament in both kinds appears to follow from our Lord having instituted and administered it with the two species. And, if it be the case that some special gift is attached to each method of reception, there may have been grievous spiritual loss through the withholding of the chalice from so many. In the rough days of the Middle Ages the reverent administration of the chalice may often have been far from easy. At the present time objections have been urged against the Anglican method of giving Communion on quite different grounds by doctors and others. In all such difficulties, whatever their right solution may be, the withdrawal of the species of wine from others than the celebrant is one of those rough and ready ways of dealing with a problem for which in the end men pay dear.

In the sixteenth century one of the chief objections made by the Reformers to the existing methods of the Church was to the restriction of the Communion of the people to the species of bread. The English Order of Communion was issued in 1548 for use in connection with the Latin Mass until an English

Book of Common Prayer should be compiled. In it was a direction that the priest should deliver to the communicants 'the Sacrament of the blood' as well as 'the Sacrament of the body of Christ.' The Prayer Book of 1549 and all the subsequent English Prayer Books have continued the order for the administration in both kinds.

The word 'form' is the technical theological term for the sacramental words. The early Liturgies in general contain the recitation of our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' and also a prayer that the Holy Ghost may make the elements the body and blood of Christ. To give one instance, the Liturgy of the Syrian Church, as represented in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, contains the following prayer: 'Mindful therefore of those things which He endured for us, we give thanks to Thee, God Almighty, not as we ought but as we can, and fulfil His ordinance. For in the night in which He was betrayed He took bread in His holy and blameless hands, and looking up to Thee, His God and Father, He brake and gave to His disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new covenant: take of it: eat: this is My body which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise also He mixed the cup of wine and water and consecrated it and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it: this is My blood which is poured out for many for the remission of sins: do this for My

memorial: for as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim My death until I come. Mindful therefore of His passion and death and resurrection and return into heaven and His future second coming, in which He is to come with glory and power to judge the living and the dead and to render to each one according to his works, we offer unto Thee, the King and God, according to His ordinance this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him that Thou hast accounted us worthy to stand before Thee and offer sacrifice to Thee; and we beseech Thee that Thou wilt look graciously upon these gifts set forth before Thee, O God who needest nothing, and wilt accept them for the honour of Thy Christ, and wilt send down upon this sacrifice Thy Holy Ghost, the Witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that He may make this bread the body of Thy Christ and this cup the blood of Thy Christ, in order that those who partake thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may become worthy of Thy Christ, may obtain eternal life in Thy reconciliation to them, O Lord Almighty.'[1]

[1] *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 12. In the *Ethiopic Church Ordinances* and in the *Liturgy of the Nestorians*, the invocation of the Holy Ghost is connected simply with the blessing of the congregation, not as usual with a prayer that He may make the elements the body and blood of Christ. See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 190, 287. Cf. the reconstruction of the Liturgy of Antioch from the writings of S. Chrysostom in *op. cit.* i. 474.

In the *Testament of our Lord* the invocation is of the Holy Trinity, and the object of it is described as the sanctification of the communicants, not, as in most cases, the making the elements to be the body and blood of Christ. After the recital of the institution and the commemoration of the death and resurrection, the prayer goes on: 'We offer to Thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father before whom all creation and every nature trembleth fleeing into itself, O Lord the Holy Ghost; we have brought this drink and this food of Thy Holiness to Thee; Cause that it may be to us not for condemnation, not for reproach, not for destruction, but for the medicine and support of our spirit.'[1]

In the liturgical prayers of Serapion of Thmuis the invocation is of God the Son. The words which follow the Sanctus are: 'Full is the heaven, full is the earth also of Thy excellent glory, Lord of hosts. Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and Thy participation; for to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless offering. To Thee have we offered this bread, the likeness of the body of the Only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy body, because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed took bread and brake and gave to His disciples, saying, Take ye and eat, this is My body which is broken on your behalf for the remission of

[1] *Testament of our Lord*, i. 23.

sins. Wherefore we also making the likeness of the death have offered the bread, and we beseech Thee through this sacrifice, be reconciled to us all and be propitious, O God of truth; and as this bread was scattered on the top of the mountains and was gathered together and became one, so also gather together Thy Holy Church out of every nation and every country and every city and village and house, and make one living Catholic Church. We have offered also the cup, the likeness of the blood, because the Lord Jesus Christ taking a cup after He had supped said to His own disciples, Take ye, drink, this is the new covenant which is My blood which is poured out on your behalf for the remission of sins. Wherefore we also have offered the cup, presenting the likeness of the blood. O God of truth, let Thy Holy Word come down upon this bread, that the bread may become the body of the Word, and upon this cup, that the cup may become the blood of the Truth. And make all who communicate to receive the medicine of life for the healing of every sickness, and for the strengthening of all advance and virtue, not for condemnation, O God of truth, nor for reproach and shame.'[1]

At the present time the Eastern Churches use prayers closely resembling the Syrian Liturgy already quoted, including the recital of the institution and the invocation of the Holy Ghost to make the gifts the body and blood of Christ.

[1] Serapion, 1.

In the present Roman Liturgy the explicit invocation of the Holy Ghost does not occur. The canon of the Mass, after prayers for the acceptance of the offering and intercessions for the living, goes on: 'Who the day before He suffered took bread into His holy and venerable hands, and lifting up His eyes to heaven to Thee, His Almighty Father God, He gave thanks to Thee, and blessed, and brake, and gave to His disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this. This is My body. Likewise after supper, taking also this glorious cup into His holy and venerable hands, He gave thanks to Thee, and blessed, and gave to His disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of this. This is the cup of My blood, of the new and eternal covenant, the mystery of faith, which shall be poured out for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as ye shall do this, ye will do it for My memorial. Wherefore also, O Lord, we Thy servants and Thy holy people, mindful of the blessed passion of the same Christ Thy Son our Lord, and also of His resurrection from the dead, and also of His glorious ascension into heaven, offer to Thy glorious majesty of Thy gifts and boons a pure offering, a holy offering, a spotless offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation. Upon which vouchsafe to look with favourable and gracious countenance, and to accept them, as Thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch

Abraham, and that holy sacrifice, that spotless offering which Thy high priest Melchizedek offered to Thee. Humbly we beseech Thee, Almighty God, command that these be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thine altar on high in the sight of Thy divine majesty, that as many of us as shall receive the most holy body and blood of Thy Son from this participation of the altar may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace.'[1]

It may be questioned whether the 'holy Angel' of the Latin prayer denotes our Lord viewed as the Angel of great Counsel, or God the Holy Ghost. Whichever interpretation is right, the prayer in which the phrase occurs evidently corresponds to the Eastern invocation of the Holy Ghost, or the invocation of God the Word in the liturgy of Serapion of Thmuis.

It has been the usual belief in the West that the consecration of the elements is effected by the recitation of the words of institution; and that the invocation of the Holy Ghost was a prayer for the profitable reception of the Sacrament, or that, if it referred to the consecration, it was placed after the words of institution simply because the limitations of human utterance make it impossible to say all the prayers which are gathered round the consecration simultaneously.[2] Thus, in the West, it has been usual

[1] *Missale Romanum.*

[2] See, *e.g.*, the discussions in De Lugo, *De Sacram. Euch.*, XI.

to surround the recitation of our Lord's words with the devotional recognition of the sacramental presence of Christ. In the Roman Missal now in use the priest is directed to genuflect and adore and elevate the consecrated Host when he has said our Lord's words at the institution of the species of bread, and similarly to genuflect and adore and elevate the consecrated chalice as soon as he has said the words, 'As often as ye shall do this, ye will do it for My memorial.'

Eastern theologians, on the other hand, have attached great importance to the objective value of the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the tendency in the East has been, while disliking the consideration of the question of the moment of consecration, to regard the recitation of our Lord's words at the institution as rather of an historical character than as actually consecrating, and to view the invocation of the Holy Ghost as the climax of the act of consecration.[1]

In the English Prayer Book of 1549 an attempt was made to recover the explicit reference to the operation of the Holy Ghost in the consecration of the Sacrament, and at the same time to bring it into harmony with the ordinary Western opinion that the consecration is effected by the recitation of the words of institution. The invocation of the Holy Ghost

[1] See, *e.g.*, Cabasilas, *Sacr. Lit. Interp.*, 29, 30; *Orthodox Confession*, i. 107 (Kimmel, *Mon. Fid. Ecc. Orien.*, i. 180).

was placed in the prayer of consecration; but the position of it was before the words of institution, not, as in the Eastern Liturgies, after them. The priest was directed to say, 'Hear us (O merciful Father), we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ. Who in the same night that He was betrayed took bread, and when He had blessed and given thanks He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is My body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of Me. Likewise after supper He took the cup, and when He had given thanks He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is My blood of the New Testament which is shed for you and for many for remission of sins: do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of Me.' After a commemoration of our Lord's passion, resurrection, and ascension, and a prayer for the acceptance for the worshippers, and a presentation of them as a sacrifice, the Western allusion to the ministry of the 'holy Angel' was made in an altered form so as to refer to the created angels, 'Command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of Thy holy angels to be brought up into Thy holy tabernacle before the sight of Thy divine majesty.'

In the Prayer Book of 1552 and the later English Books the invocation of the Holy Ghost was omitted;

and in the Book of 1662 the Church of England was committed to the ordinary Western opinion that the words of institution are by themselves sufficient to effect the consecration in the rubric directing that if a further consecration is required because of the number of the communicants the priest is to consecrate simply by the use of these words.

The Scottish Liturgy in this respect closely resembles the Liturgies of the Eastern Churches. After the recital of the words of institution the priest proceeds: 'Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy divine majesty, with these Thy holy gifts which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance His blessed passion and precious death, His mighty resurrection and glorious ascension; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son.'

The Liturgy of the American Church is the same in this matter as the Scottish Church, except that

instead of the words 'that they may become the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son' are the words 'that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood.'[1]

The invariable custom and law of the Church have required that the minister who consecrates the Eucharist must be a bishop or a priest. The ordinary practice in the early Church was for the bishop to celebrate if present. The administration of Communion was partly by the bishop, partly by the deacons or priests who assisted him. In the description of the Eucharistic office given by S. Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century, the administration of both species, both to those present at the service and to those to whom the Sacrament was carried, was by the deacons.[2] In the *Canons of Hippolytus* the bishop is directed to give Communion 'with his own hand, if he can, to all the people.' It is added that if a priest is ill, a deacon may take the Sacrament to him; and that a deacon may administer the Communion to the people, if a bishop or priest give permission.[3] The Liturgy in the *Apostolic Constitutions* directs the bishop to administer the species of bread, the deacon

[1] On a possible connection of the Lord's Prayer with the consecration in the early Church, see Wordsworth (Bishop of Salisbury), *The Holy Communion*, pp. 153-156 (second edition).

[2] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 65, 67.

[3] *Canons of Hippolytus*, 214-216; cf. 146, 147.

to administer the species of wine.[1] In later times it has been usual for the priest to administer the consecrated Sacrament. In his absence the deacon has sometimes administered; and in the Church of England in particular a deacon has often assisted the priest by administering the chalice. In the early Church lay people communicated themselves from the Sacrament when reserved at home; and as late as 692 it was necessary for the Council *in Trullo* to forbid a layman to give Communion to himself if a bishop, priest, or deacon were present.[2]

Controversialists have sometimes questioned the restriction of the authority to consecrate the Eucharist to bishops and priests on the ground of a passage in which Tertullian appears to speak of a layman celebrating the Eucharist as well as baptizing.[3] In any case it would be hazardous to lay stress on a single passage in conflict with the rest of the evidence; in this case the passage referred to cannot be cited as an authority because it is from a treatise written by Tertullian after he became a Montanist; and it is clear that he is stating the position of the Montanists, not of the Church. In another book, written before he was a Montanist, Tertullian distinguishes between priests and laymen, and mentions, as a mark of heretical bodies, that they give laymen the offices of the priests.[4]

[1] *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 12.
[2] Council *in Trullo*, can. 58 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii. 1684).
[3] Tertullian, *De Exhort. Cast.*, 7. [4] *Idem*, *De Præsc. Hær.*, 41.

In 314 a canon of the Council of Arles shows that a practice had sprung up in some places of deacons celebrating, probably when the congregation had been deprived of both bishop and priest through persecution; and the Council ordered that this was to be discontinued.[1] In 325 the Council of Nicæa incidentally referred to deacons as those 'who have no authority to offer.'[2] An interesting passage in S. Ambrose, in which the deacon Laurence is represented as describing himself in addressing his bishop, Xystus, as one 'to whom thou hast committed the consecration of the blood of the Lord, a share in the completion of the Sacraments,'[3] probably refers to the assistance given by the deacon to the bishop in the celebration of the Liturgy and especially to the administration of Communion, not to the act of consecration, as if it could be performed by the deacon by himself. No instance has been found of the Church authorising the consecration of the Eucharist in any circumstances by any one but a bishop or priest.

[1] Council of Arles, can. 15.
[2] Council of Nicæa, can. 18.
[3] S. Ambrose, *De Off.*, i. 214.

CHAPTER XIV

EUCHARISTIC PRACTICE AND CEREMONIAL

It has been pointed out in an earlier chapter that there is record in the New Testament of the Holy Eucharist being celebrated daily and also of a special association with the first day of the week.[1] The frequency of celebration found in later history is in accordance with these indications of the earliest practice of the Church. The description of the administration in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, brief and imperfect though it is, includes a reference to the celebration being regularly 'on the Lord's Day of the Lord.'[2] Pliny's letter, written perhaps in 110, speaks of the service which apparently was the Eucharist being 'on a fixed day.'[3] In the middle of the second century S. Justin Martyr mentions that the Eucharist was celebrated every Sunday.[4] Tertullian[5] and S. Cyprian[6] both refer to it being celebrated daily in Africa in the third century. The

[1] See p. 18, *supra*.
[2] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 14.
[3] Pliny, *Ep.*, 96.
[4] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 67.
[5] Tertullian, *De Idol.*, 7; cf. *De Orat.*, 6.
[6] S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, lvii. 3, lviii. 1; *De Dom. Orat.*, 18.

Canons of Hippolytus, giving the Roman or Alexandrian custom of the second or third century, describe the celebration as being on Sundays and on other days when the bishop wished.[1] In the fourth century S. Chrysostom bears witness to it being daily at Constantinople.[2] The *Pilgrimage of Silvia* mentions the celebrations on ordinary Wednesdays and Fridays, on Saturdays in Lent, and on all Sundays at Jerusalem in the fourth century.[3] In the *Testament of our Lord* the Eucharist is restricted to Sundays, Saturdays, and fast days.[4] It is probable that at this time the Eucharist was celebrated daily in Spain, and on all days except Fridays and Saturdays at Rome; and that at Alexandria as well as at Rome there was a custom not to celebrate on Saturdays.[5] In a letter of great interest, written about 400, S. Augustine refers to the differing customs in different places at that time. After mentioning instances in which the practice of the whole Church is uniform, he goes on: 'But there are other things which are different in different countries and districts, as that some fast on Saturday and others do not, some make their Communion of the body and blood of the Lord daily, others receive it on certain fixed

[1] *Canons of Hippolytus*, 169, 201, 214.

[2] S. Chrysostom, *In Eph. Hom.*, iii. 4.

[3] *Peregrinatio Silviæ.*

[4] *Testament of our Lord*, i. 22.

[5] First Council of Toledo, can. 5 (if 'sacrificium quotidianum' means the Eucharist); S. Jerome, *Ep.*, lxxi. 6; Innocent I., *Ep.*, i. 4; Socrates, *H. E.*, v. 22; Sozomen, *H. E.*, vii. 19. Cf. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, pp. 218-222.

days; in some places no day passes without the offering of the sacrifice, in other places it is offered only on Saturday and Sunday, in others again it is offered on Sunday only. In these and any other such matters which may be noticed the observance is free, and in all things of this kind there is no better plan for a serious and prudent Christian than that he should act as he sees the Church to which he has happened to come acting. For that which is not shown to be contrary to the faith or to good life is to be held as an open affair, and is to be kept for the sake of association with those among whom one is living.'[1]

From, at any rate, the beginning of the third century there is evidence of the celebration of the Eucharist in connection with special events and days, as marriages, funerals, the anniversaries of days of deaths.[2] In the first quarter of the fifth century there is an instance of the Eucharist for one particular purpose such as afterwards became common. In his book *On the City of God*, S. Augustine tells that a man whose property was suffering from the malice of evil spirits asked that one of the priests might go to his house to pray there. 'One went and offered there the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying with all his power that this trouble might cease. By the mercy of God it ceased at once.'[3]

[1] S. Augustine, *Ep.*, liv. 2.

[2] *Canons of Hippolytus*, 169; Tertullian, *Ad Uxor.*, ii. 9; *De Cor. Mil.*, 3; S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, xxxix. 3.

[3] S. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8 (6).

In the early Church the intercessions for the living and the departed, the reading of Holy Scripture, the instruction of the people, and the use of song, formed regular parts of the Eucharistic rite;[1] and it was in all respects the chief act of worship.

Until the middle of the fifth century it appears to have been the rule in some places that the Eucharist might not be celebrated more than once on one day in the same church. About 445 S. Leo the Great, the Bishop of Rome, wrote to Dioscorus the Bishop of Alexandria pointing out that on some days the observance of this rule might prevent some of the people from offering the sacrifice, and urging him to bring the usage of the Church at Alexandria in this matter into conformity with the custom of the Church at Rome, by which the sacrifice was offered in the same Church on one day as often as there was a congregation to fill the church.[2]

From the saying of Masses for special purposes and the repetition for the convenience of the congregation was developed the ordinary method of the West in the Middle Ages, by which many priests celebrated every day, and in some churches the Eucharist was celebrated many times daily. This mediæval method has remained the same in its main features in the Church of Rome at the present time. Roman

[1] Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, pp. 163, 188, says that the sermon appears to have fallen into disuse at Rome somewhat early.

[2] S. Leo, *Ep.*, ix. 2.

Catholic priests in charge of parochial churches are bound to say Mass, or to provide that it is said, on all days on which it is of obligation for the people to hear Mass. As a matter of fact, very many priests say Mass daily, and in most churches there is at least one Mass each day.

In the East the process of development has been somewhat different. At present the frequency with which the Eucharist is celebrated is largely a matter of local convenience; but it is secured that there is always a celebration on Sundays and the greater holy days.

When the English Prayer Book of 1549 was published the frequency known to English people was that of the later Middle Ages. This Book appears to have contemplated a return to the primitive practice by which ordinarily there was only one celebration of the Eucharist on one day in one church; but provision was made for two celebrations in the same church on Christmas Day and Easter Day. At this time few of the laity had been accustomed to communicate except at Easter; and the existence of rubrics in this and the subsequent Books requiring communicants at each celebration led to great infrequency of the Eucharist. In the first part of the seventeenth century so devout a Churchman as George Herbert could write of his ideal 'country parson' in his work *A Priest to the Temple*: 'Touching the frequency of the Communion, the parson celebrates it,

if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year: as at Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, before and after harvest, and the beginning of Lent.'[1] In the memory of living persons the 'duly once a month' was very generally regarded as an ideal; and the present writer has heard of instances not long ago in which parishes were left without Communion on Easter Day because it did not happen to be the first Sunday in the month. Yet there were a few centres of Church life where a better state of things was preserved through very dark days. Until 1743 a weekly celebration was kept up in the collegiate church, now the cathedral, at Manchester; and the number of communicants on Sundays is said to have amounted to more than seven hundred. In 1743 this was stopped by the bishop of the diocese on the grounds, as stated by one of the Fellows who was present at his visitation, that 'the Church of England enjoins her members to receive but three times a year,' that 'primitive practice or ancient canons' 'are all Popish,' and that weekly Communion was 'a heavy charge to the parishioners.' At the time a monthly celebration was substituted; but at a later date the Warden and Fellows returned to the former custom, and restored the weekly celebration.[2] The Prayer Book itself all along

[1] Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple*, chapter xxii.

[2] See *Private Journals and Remains of John Byrom*, part II., vol. ii. (Chetham Society publications, vol. xliv.), pp. 341-349; Jolly, *The Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist*, pp. 145, 146 (third edition).

cried out for a celebration on every Sunday and on the holy days for which Epistles and Gospels were provided, if communicants were forthcoming; and, in the rubrics attached to the Collects and to the Proper Prefaces, contemplated that the Eucharist would be celebrated daily in some places. One of the happy results of the Oxford Movement has been the great increase in the frequency with which opportunities of worship and Communion have been given to English people; and it is a matter for profound thankfulness that in the central church of England, S. Paul's Cathedral, the Eucharist has been celebrated daily since 1877.

A statement that the Eucharist was instituted at the beginning of the day will sound perverse to some. Yet it is literally true. To the Jew the new day began at sunset. From the standpoint of the first communicants, the Apostles, the acts in the Upper Room were performed not looking back over a day which was almost spent, but looking forward to a day which was just beginning. Mention has already been made of the hour of the other celebrations of the Eucharist recorded in the New Testament.[1] In Pliny's letter to Trajan, and the writings of Tertullian and S. Cyprian, the Eucharist is said to have been celebrated in the early morning.[2] In and after the

[1] See pp. 18, 19, *supra*.

[2] Pliny, *Ep.*, 96; Tertullian, *De. Cor. Mil.*, 3; S. Cyprian, *Ep.*, lxiii. 15, 16.

fourth century early in the morning or nine o'clock appears to have been the ordinary hour on Sundays and festivals, noon on other days, and three in the afternoon on fast days, the object of the lateness of the hour in this last case being that the fast might be prolonged.[1] It is not unlikely that the same rule existed in the second or third century.[2] An evening celebration on the Thursday before Easter and on the Eve of the Feast of the Resurrection was kept up for centuries. In later and in modern times, apart from the unauthorised introduction of afternoon and evening Communions in some churches of the Church of England in the nineteenth century, the hour has been in some part of the morning, varying much through local and individual circumstances. In the Church of England the structure of the Prayer Book, in accordance with the general liturgical rules of the whole Church, requires that the principal Eucharist be preceded by the Morning Prayer and by the Litany on those days for which it is appointed. When this is secured, there may well be additional celebrations at an earlier hour for the convenience of communicants.

The reception of Communion has always been restricted to those who have been baptized. According to the uniform teaching of the Church only those who are already members of Christ may partake of His body and blood. When S. Cyprian speaks of

[1] See Puller, *Concerning the Fast before Communion*, pp. 9-11.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

Communion preserving the union with Christ of those who are in Him,[1] and S. Augustine instructs children before Communion, 'If ye are the body and members of Christ, your mystery is laid on the Table of the Lord; your mystery ye receive; to that which ye are ye answer, Amen,'[2] they express the general mind of the early Church.

In the primitive Church the administration of Confirmation immediately after Baptism carried with it that the communicants had been confirmed as well as baptized. The same is true of the East to the present day. In the West, even after the separation of Confirmation from Baptism, the theory has always been that in ordinary cases only the confirmed communicate. There have been many departures from this in practice; and in the Church of Rome it is customary in very many places for first Communion to precede Confirmation. Of late in France an attempt has been seriously made to amend this custom; and the attempt received some approval from the venerable Pope Leo XIII. The rule of the Church of England is given in the rubric: 'There shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.'

In the early Church it appears to have been the ordinary practice for all the communicants not hindered by some special reason to communicate at

[1] S. Cyprian, *De Dom. Orat.*, 18. [2] S. Augustine, *Serm.* cclxxii.

every celebration they were able to attend. Those passing through the final stage of the penitential system were present during the whole service without receiving Communion. Occasional instances of others being so present are known.[1] As time went on Communions were made much more rarely in both the East and the West; and Communion at Easter, combined with frequent presence without Communion, was usual in the Middle Ages. In the East Communions have continued to be rarely made unto the present time. In the West in the sixteenth century attempts were made in both the Church of Rome and the Church of England to increase the frequency of Communion. The English Prayer Book of 1549 ordered that 'every man and woman' should 'communicate once in the year at the least' 'in the parish church where they be resident'; the Book of 1552 and the later Books directed that 'every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one'; and all the English Books forbade the priest to celebrate unless there were 'some,' or 'a good number,' or 'a convenient number,' or 'four, or three at the least' to communicate besides himself. The steps thus taken in the Church of England led eventually to the disuse of the practice of being present at the Eucharist without communicating; and it was only in the nineteenth century that this

[1] See Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, i. 1 (p. 318, Potter's edition); Socrates, *H.E.*, vi. 9. Cf. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, pp. 307, 308.

was restored as one of the results of the Oxford Movement. In the Church of Rome an increase in frequency of Communion, very marked in some places and of slighter extent in others, has been unaccompanied by any decrease in the custom of hearing Mass; and, while Communion at Easter remains the minimum which the Church of Rome enforces, it is of obligation to be present at Mass on all Sundays and on some other feast days. In view of a misunderstanding shared by very many, it may be worth while to quote a statement of the Council of Trent, already referred to,[1] and another by Pope Leo XIII. The Council of Trent, while declaring the lawfulness of Masses in which only the celebrant communicates, said: 'The most holy Council could wish that in all Masses the faithful who are present should communicate not only with spiritual desire but also with sacramental reception of the Eucharist, in order that the more abundant fruit of this most holy sacrifice might be theirs.'[2] In his Encyclical Letter, *Miræ Caritatis*, dated May 28, 1902, Pope Leo XIII. wrote: 'History bears witness that the virtues of the Christian life have flourished best wherever and whenever the frequent reception of the Eucharist has most prevailed. And on the other hand it is no less certain that in days when men have ceased to care for this heavenly bread, and have lost their appetite for it, the practice of Christian religion has gradually lost its force and

[1] See p. 129, *supra*.

[2] Council of Trent, Sess. xxii.

vigour. And, indeed, it was as a needful measure of precaution against a complete falling away that Innocent III., in the Council of the Lateran, most strictly enjoined that no Christian should abstain from receiving the Communion of the Lord's body, at least in the solemn Paschal season. But it is clear that this precept was imposed with regret and only as a last resource; for it has always been the desire of the Church that at every Mass some of the faithful should be present and should communicate.'

Side by side with emphatic declarations of the importance of Communion, the writers of the Church have not been afraid to utter warnings of the danger of communicating unworthily. To quote a representative instance, it was said by S. Chrysostom: 'It is not the feast of the Epiphany or the season of Lent which makes men worthy to draw near, but sincerity and cleanness of soul. With this draw near always, without it, never.'[1]

In the early Church the elements were received separately by the communicants, the species of bread in the hand, and the species of wine from the chalice. The usual modern Eastern custom is for a small fragment of the species of bread to be received together with the species of wine from a spoon. This method may have come into use at a fairly early date in some places. In the West the practice of placing the consecrated bread in the mouth of the communi-

[1] S. Chrysostom, *In Eph. Hom.*, iii. 4.

cant was usual in the ninth century.[1] An isolated instance in the case of a blind man is known to have occurred in the sixth century.[2] The Church of Rome still retains the method of placing the species of bread in the mouth of the communicant. In the Church of England the Order of Communion of 1548 gave no instruction as to the method of receiving the consecrated bread; as to the other species the words were, 'the priest delivering the Sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more.' In the Book of 1549 there was a rubric: 'Although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years past received at the priest's hands the Sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary, yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness, lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that a uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths at the priest's hand.' The Prayer Book of 1552 ordered that the Communion should be placed in the hands of the people; and this order has since remained unchanged.

The earliest form of the words of administration appears to have been 'This is the body of Christ';

[1] See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 416, 417. [2] *Ibid.*

'This is the blood of Christ.'[1] By the sixth century they were lengthened to 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul.'[2] Later, the words 'unto eternal life' were added. In England before the Reformation the words were, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and thy soul unto eternal life.'[3] The English Order of Communion of 1548 had, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body unto everlasting life'; 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee preserve thy soul to everlasting life.' The Prayer Book of 1549 had the same words, except that the phrase 'thy body and soul' occurred in the administration of both species. In 1552 these forms were abolished, and in the place of them were the sentences, 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving'; 'Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.' In 1559 the forms of 1549 and those of 1552 were combined; and these have since remained without alteration. In the Church of Rome the form still is, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto eternal life.'[4] In the Eastern rites the form is, 'The servant

[1] *Canons of Hippolytus*, 146, 147.

[2] John the Deacon, *S. Gregorii Papæ Vita*, ii. 41.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *The York Manual*, p. 51* (edition of Surtees Society, vol. lxiii.).

[4] *Rituale Romanum.*

of God, N., partakes of the precious and holy body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to the remission of his sins and to eternal life.'[1]

It was the custom in the early Church to receive the Holy Communion fasting whatever the hour of reception might be. This fact might be illustrated by very copious quotations from, at any rate, the beginning of the third century.[2] It may be sufficient to quote one passage from the letter of S. Augustine, part of which, on the variation of the days on which the Eucharist was celebrated in different places, has already been cited. In that letter S. Augustine says: 'It is quite clear that when the disciples first received the body and blood of the Lord, they did not receive fasting.[3] Must we therefore censure the Universal Church because Communion is always received by persons fasting? Not so, for from that time it has seemed good to the Holy Ghost that in honour of so great a Sacrament the body of the Lord should enter the mouth of a Christian before any other food; for this is the reason why the custom is observed throughout the whole world.' And after quoting S. Paul's words in 1 Corinthians xi. 20, 34, S. Augustine goes on, 'Whence we are given to understand' 'that the Apostle himself set in order

[1] See Goar, *Euchologion*, note 180, p. 153: cf. p. 83 (edition of 1647, Paris); Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 396.

[2] See Note XIV. on p. 304.

[3] It must, however, be remembered that the Passover was a sacred meal, and that the disciples would be fasting for some hours before it.

the observance in which no diversity of custom is found.'[1]

This rule of communicating fasting has remained unbroken in the East and in the Church of Rome. In the East it appears to be left to the conscience of individuals to decide whether any degree of ill health, and if so what degree, makes Communion by one who is not fasting right. In the Church of Rome an exception is recognised by authority in the case of persons at the point of death, and some theologians extend this exception to include any cases of serious illness.[2] The power of dispensing from the rule is ascribed to the Pope; and there are instances of its having been exercised in favour of royal persons and to allow of missionary priests taking medicine required by unhealthy climate.[3]

In the absence of any explicit rule expressed by the Church of England in her post-Reformation formularies, it is natural that different positions should be taken up on this subject by English Churchpeople. It is maintained by some, that since the Church of England has nowhere repealed her pre-Reformation law, her members are still bound by it.[4] It is contended by others that the lack of any post-Refor-

[1] S. Augustine, *Ep.*, liv. 7, 8.

[2] See, *e.g.*, O'Kane, *Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual*, pp. 374, 375.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Lehmkuhl, *Theologia Moralis*, t. ii. §§ 159-163.

[4] In connection with this opinion the command for the fast before Communion in the 'King's Book' may need consideration: see Note VIII. on p. 296.

mation enactment leaves English Churchpeople wholly free. It is perhaps truer than either position to say that those who do not recognise any authority of the Universal Church cannot be expected to see that this rule is binding upon them; but that those who do acknowledge the authority of the Universal Church must be prepared to take this rule with the rest. Certainly it would be unbecoming in any to make a point of the Anglican appeal to primitive antiquity and to ignore the teaching of primitive antiquity in a matter of this kind.

It is of interest to observe that fasting Communion has been practised in the Church of England since the Reformation and before the revival in the Oxford Movement to a much greater extent than has often been thought. The references to the custom in literature are numerous. Bishop Jeremy Taylor and Bishop Sparrow are instances of bishops of the Restoration period who speak of it as 'a Catholic custom' and 'the practice of the Universal Church,' and therefore to be observed.[1] Devotional books of the eighteenth century refer to it as the proper course.[2] Occasional instances of clergymen who were ordained in the early years of the nineteenth century,

[1] Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living*, iv. x. 9; *Rule of Conscience*, iii. 15; Sparrow, *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 237 (edition of 1676).

[2] See, *e.g.*, *The New Week's Preparation*, part ii. pp. 118-120 (new edition, published in 1810). See also Bodington, *Books of Devotion* (an earlier volume of this series), pp. 203-207, 253-255, 259, 260.

who practised it before the Oxford Movement began, have been observed. Men who are now in middle life remember having been told by their parents that the custom was recognised as right in their early youth.[1]

Apparently in some parts of the East the fast is kept from the sunset of the day before. The ordinary rule for many centuries has been from midnight; and this is now prescribed in the Church of Rome.

In the early Church it was usual to receive Communion standing.[2] This practice has been continuously preserved in the Churches of the East. In the West the mediæval custom was to kneel; and this has been maintained both in the Church of England and in the Church of Rome. In England a persistent claim was made by the Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to receive Communion sitting.

There is abundant proof that the Eucharist was reserved in the early Church. In the middle of the second century S. Justin Martyr mentions that the deacons carried the consecrated elements to those who were absent.[3] A little later a somewhat similar provision is made in the *Canons of Hippolytus*.[4] In

[1] The writer refers above to instances of which he has heard personally. See also Pullan, *The Christian Tradition* (an earlier volume of this series), p. 224; Vaux, *Church Folk Lore*, pp. 69, 70 (second edition).

[2] See, *e.g.*, Dionysius of Alexandria in Eusebius, *H.E.*, vii. 9; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. M.*, v. 22.

[3] S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 65, 67.

[4] *Canons of Hippolytus*, 215.

the third century both Tertullian [1] and S. Cyprian [2] refer to the custom of Christians having the Eucharist in their houses and communicating themselves from it. It has been thought that the *Testament of our Lord* implies the same practice by contemplating daily Communion and restricting the celebration to Sundays, Saturdays, and fast days.[3] A letter by S. Chrysostom, written in 404, shows that there was then reservation in Church.[4] A practice of sending the reserved Sacrament as a Christian greeting may be referred to in a letter of S. Irenæus towards the end of the second century,[5] and was condemned by the Council of Laodicea in the fourth.[6]

Reservation for Communion has been continuously maintained in the Churches of the East. According to the present plan the fragments of the species of bread which have been placed in the chalice are taken out of it and dried, so that both species are reserved together, and in the administration these fragments are given to the communicants in a draught of unconsecrated wine.

[1] Tertullian, *Ad Uxor.*, ii. 5.
[2] S. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 26.
[3] Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, p. 239.
[4] S. Chrysostom, *Ep. ad Innoc.*, i. 3.
[5] In Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 24.
[6] Council of Laodicea, can. 14 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, i. 783, 784). It may be noticed that later there was a custom of sending unconsecrated bread, which, like the Sacrament when used for this purpose, was called 'Eulogia.' The *pain bénit*, still distributed during High Mass in some French churches, and the *antidoron* in the East may be mentioned as parallels to the change.

Possibly partly because of a want of uniformity in the practice of the early Church,[1] and partly in connection with the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity, the ordinary method of reservation in the West came to be in the species of bread only. In the Church of Rome this has continued the custom to the present time. In addition to the use of the reserved Sacrament for the Communion of the sick, in Roman Catholic Churches the Sacrament is much used as a centre of prayer; the people are blessed with it in the rite of Benediction; and it is carried in the Processions of the Host.

In the English Prayer Book of 1549 provision was made that if the Communion of the sick was needed on a day on which there was 'a celebration of the Holy Communion in the Church, then shall the priest reserve (at the open Communion) so much of the Sacrament of the body and blood as shall serve the sick person and so many as shall communicate with him (if there be any). And so soon as he conveniently may, after the open Communion ended in the Church, shall go and minister the same, first to those that are appointed to communicate with the sick (if there be any), and last of all to the sick person himself.' It was further provided that, if there was no celebration in the church on the day required, the priest should celebrate in the house of the sick man, and give him Communion; 'and if there be more

[1] See p. 213, *supra*.

sick persons to be visited the same day that the curate doth celebrate in any sick man's house, then shall the curate (there) reserve so much of the Sacrament of the body and blood as shall serve the other sick persons, and such as be appointed to communicate with them (if there be any); and shall immediately carry it and minister it unto them.' In the Prayer Book of 1552 and in the subsequent English Prayer Books an office was still provided for a celebration in the house of a sick person, but no provision was made for any kind of reservation. In the Latin Prayer Book, issued with the authority of the crown in 1560, the same provision as in the Book of 1549 was made for the Communion of the sick with the reserved Sacrament on any day on which there was a celebration in church. In the Prayer Book of 1662 a rubric providing that 'if any of the bread or wine remain, the curate shall have it to his own use,' which had existed since 1552, received an explanatory addition so as to run, 'If any of the bread and wine remain unconsecrated, the curate shall have it to his own use; but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the church, but the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him shall immediately after the blessing reverently eat and drink the same.' On the grounds of the omission of any provision for reserving the Sacrament, the expansion of this rubric in 1662, and the statement in the twenty-eighth of the Articles

of Religion, 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped,' it has been contended that any kind of reservation is unlawful in the Church of England. It is clear that the object of the 1662 rubric was to prevent the profanation of the consecrated Sacrament. The statement in the Article does not, on any reasonable interpretation of the Articles, commit the Church of England to more in this matter than that reservation is not an essential element in the Eucharistic service. Our ignorance of the processes which lay behind the revisions of the formularies is too great to warrant us in inferences from the omission of any provision for reservation. The Latin Prayer Book of 1660 cannot rightly be entirely left out of account in considering the question. On the whole it appears that this is one of those matters which call for the action of living authority; and that, in view of unquestionable facts in the history of the Church from the earliest times, the bishops would be wise if they would regulate rather than forbid a primitive and long universal practice in which the benefit of souls is so seriously concerned. Even if the proverb 'Charity is above rubrics' contains an untruth as well as a truth, it is certainly the case that, when the meaning of the history of rubrics is involved in real doubt, a strong appeal may rightly be made for the generous consideration of spiritual needs on the part of those who bear rule.

Reservation stands on a different footing in the Scottish Church. At the end of many copies of the Scottish Liturgy printed in the last fifty years there is a note: 'According to the universal custom of the Church of Scotland the priest may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the Communion of the sick and others who could not be present at the celebration in church.' According to the historical usage which this note accurately records reservation, made in both kinds, is usual in Scotland. In a preface to a book published in 1899 the Bishop of Aberdeen wrote: 'On every recurring festival the blessed Eucharist of that festival is being carried by good and faithful clergy over hill and dale in this diocese of Aberdeen, and across the seas in Orkney and Shetland to every sick and infirm member of the Church.'[1]

At different times and in different places the Sacrament, when reserved in Church, has been kept in an aumbry in the wall, in a hanging pyx, in a Sacrament House such as the magnificent structure still remaining in the church of S. Sebald at Nuremberg, and in a tabernacle placed above the altar.

The celebration of the Eucharist has always been the chief rite of the Church. In a book on the scale of the present work it is impossible to treat with any detail the differing types of Liturgies in which the

[1] Neles, *Reservation of the Holy Eucharist in the Scottish Church*, Preface.

Church has given effect to her worship. It may be briefly said that the Liturgies may be divided into two great groups, the Eastern and the Western, and that these again fall into subdivisions. The Eastern Liturgies are divided by Canon Brightman, the chief English authority on the subject, into those of the Syrian rite, the Egyptian rite, the Persian rite, and the Byzantine rite. The Byzantine rite includes, besides the Liturgies of the national and Uniat Armenians, the Liturgies of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil, which exist in as many as nine languages and are actually in use in almost all of them. It is that used by both the Russian and the Greek Churches. The Western Liturgies may be classified as Roman and non-Roman. The non-Roman, often called Gallican, may be divided into the Gallican, the Milanese, and the Celtic.[1] It is probable that the Roman and the non-Roman Western Liturgies are all descended from a common source; and that in the second century the Liturgies in use at Rome, in North Italy, and in Gaul were substantially the same. Differences in numerous details may have arisen by changes being made at Rome which were not adopted in North Italy or Gaul for some time, and by the extent to which such changes were eventually adopted being considerably different in North Italy and Gaul. The

[1] See two earlier volumes of this series, Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 18-42; *The Christian Tradition*, pp. 117-134.

old Gallican rite was disused in the eighth century. Other non-Roman rites remained in use for a much longer period. A Gallican Liturgy, the Mozarabic, is still used at Toledo. A Milanese rite, the Ambrosian, is still the Liturgy of the Church of Milan.

When S. Augustine of Canterbury came to England in 597, the Liturgy in use among the few remaining Christians in this country was different from that to which he was accustomed. As descended from the converts of Gallican missions their rite would be of a non-Roman Western type. That of S. Augustine was the Roman rite. On his way through Gaul, too, he had observed the peculiarities of the Gallican rite. This last fact led to his consulting Pope Gregory the Great on the subject of variations in the methods of worship and to his receiving the answer: 'Your knowledge is of the custom of the Roman Church, in which you remember that you were brought up. But it is my wish that you should carefully choose anything which you have found which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, whether in the Roman or in the Gallican or in any other Church; and that you diligently teach the Church of the English, which is still young in the faith, whatever you can gather from many Churches. For we are not to love things for the sake of places, but places for the sake of things. Choose, therefore, from any Churches those things which are holy,

religious, and right; and gather them into a sort of bundle, and make the minds of the English familiar with them.'[1] The course of events led to the rites used in England being of the Roman Western type. At the Reformation the Reformers inherited this type. To a large extent their work in the English Prayer Books bears the marks of it. They appear to have added some study of the East, as shown in the introduction of the invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Order of Holy Communion in the Book of 1549, and of the Mozarabic or other non-Roman Western rites, as shown in the Baptismal Offices in the same Book.

The early method of celebrating the Liturgy required, as it still does in the East, the presence and assistance of all the available clergy and choir. Some of the Solemn Masses of the modern Roman Catholic Church correspond in certain respects to this ancient method. The Western High Mass, with its three ministers at the altar, acting as celebrant, deacon, and subdeacon, is a simplification. The Low Mass, in which the priest celebrates assisted by a server only, is a further simplification, introduced for the sake of convenience when the number of Masses said was greatly multiplied.

A remarkable feature of the great Liturgies is in the ceremonies known as the fraction and the commixture. The fraction is the solemn breaking of the consecrated bread as a symbol of the suffering and

[1] S. Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, xi. 64. Cf. Bede, *H.E.*, i. 27.

death of our Lord on the cross. The commixture is the placing of a fragment of the consecrated bread in the chalice at the fraction as a symbol of the re-union of our Lord's body and soul in the resurrection. In the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, as now used in the Greek Church, the prayers in connection with these ceremonies are, 'Broken and divided is the Lamb of God, who is broken and not severed, who is ever eaten and never consumed, but sanctifies those who partake. The fulness of the chalice, of faith, of the Holy Ghost.'[1] In the Roman Missal the fraction is made during the ending of the prayer in which the priest says, 'favourably grant peace in our days, that being aided by the help of Thy mercy, we may ever be kept free from sin and preserved from all distress'; and at the commixture he adds, 'The peace of the Lord be with you always.' 'May this commingling and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to us who receive it for eternal life.' In the Sarum and other pre-Reformation English Missals the phrase 'this most holy commingling' was used instead of 'this commingling and consecration,' and the rest of the prayer referred to 'health of mind and body' as well as 'eternal life.'

In the East very elaborate ceremonies are used in connection with the preparation of the elements and the symbolic arrangement of the portions of the broken bread after consecration; and, in the Byzantine

[1] Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 393, 394.

rite as used in the Orthodox Church, hot water is poured into the chalice after the commixture by the deacon, the priest saying, 'Blessed is the glow of Thy saints always, now and for ever, and to the ages of the ages. Amen. The glow of faith, full of the Holy Ghost.'[1]

In the Church of England, since the revision of the Prayer Book of 1662, the priest is directed to break the bread at the time when he says the words 'he brake it' in the Prayer of Consecration. It is possible that this direction explicitly orders a practice which had previously been usual without any rubric mentioning it. The obvious reason for it is that the actions of the priest may correspond more closely with those of our Lord at the institution. In addition to the English Prayer Book, it is found in the Egyptian rite as represented in the Liturgies of the Coptic Jacobites and the Abyssinian Jacobites.[2]

The use of the Creed in the celebration of the Eucharist originated in the Patriarchate of Antioch towards the end of the fifth century. Thence it spread into the Patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria, and became usual in the East.[3] In the Eastern Churches at the present time the Creed is always used when the Eucharist is celebrated. In the West the first known instance of this practice is found towards the end of the sixth century, when the

[1] *Op. cit.*, i. 394.
[2] *Op. cit.*, i. 177, 232.
[3] Theodorus Lector, ii. 32, 48.

Third Council of Toledo in A.D. 589 ordered the recitation of the Creed 'in all the churches of Spain and Gallicia.'[1] From Spain it spread into Gaul and became usual there. It appears to have existed at Rome in the ninth century,[2] and then to have been discontinued until the eleventh century. Early in the eleventh century the Emperor Henry II. wished the Creed to be used in the Mass everywhere, and he asked Pope Benedict VIII. to introduce it at Rome. The Pope eventually consented to do so;[3] and from being in use at Rome the custom of reciting the Creed in the Mass became universal in the West as well as in the East. There was the difference, however, that in the West the saying of it was restricted, as in the Church of Rome it still is, to Sundays and some other holy days. In the English Prayer Book of 1549 the use of the Creed was ordered without any limitation as to the days on which it was to be used, though with a provision that 'if there be a sermon, or for other great cause, the curate by his discretion may leave out the Litany, Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation to the Communion.' In all later English Prayer Books the use of the Creed is ordered without any sign that it was intended to be restricted to particular days or any provision that it might ever be omitted at celebra-

[1] Third Council of Toledo, cap. 2 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii. 479).

[2] Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Eccl.*, 22 (Migne, *P. L.*, cxiv. 947).

[3] Berno of Richenau, *Libellus de quibusdam rebus ad missæ officium pertinentibus*, 2 (Migne, *P. L.*, cxlii. 1060, 1061).

tions in church. The Creed recited in the Eucharist has always been the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed as now used in the Church of England, though of course without the clause 'and the Son' in the East and down to a certain time in those parts of the West where this addition had not yet been made.

It is probable that at the first the Eucharist was celebrated everywhere in the vernacular language. The Church of Rome is usually thought to have been a Greek colony in a Roman city. Certainly the earliest documents belonging to it are all Greek. This makes some probability that the original Roman Liturgy was in Greek; and the survival of certain Greek phrases in the Latin Mass increases this probability.[1] The Eastern Churches have preserved the use either of a vernacular language or of a language which was formerly vernacular among those by whom it is used. The Church of Rome now uses Latin everywhere except for the Uniats or Easterns in communion with Rome, who retain their own rite, whatever it may be. In the sixteenth century the Church of England adopted the use of the English language for public worship in general, though in par-

[1] On this subject see Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, i. 32-35 (edition of 1867); Bethune-Baker in *Texts and Studies*, vii. 1, p. 25, note 1. Bishop Gore (*The Body of Christ*, p. 296) thinks the quotation in both Greek and Latin in Victorinus Afer, *Adv. Ar.*, i. 30, ii. 8, probably implies that in the latter half of the fourth century 'both Greek and Latin were in use in the liturgy of the Roman Church.'

ticular circumstances, such as the official services of the universities, the use of Latin is still allowed.

In the Eastern Churches and in the Church of Rome the ordinary position of the celebrant has long been, and now is, what is known as the Eastward Position, that is, facing the altar with his back to the people. In some special circumstances, as in the Solemn Mass celebrated by the Pope or his representative, and in certain ancient basilican churches, the celebrant stands at the opposite side of the altar from the people facing both the altar and the congregation. This method, known as the 'basilican,' appears to be of great antiquity.[1] In the English Prayer Book the celebrant is directed to take the Eastward Position at the consecration in the words 'standing before the table.' At the beginning of the service he is ordered to stand 'at the north side of the table.' It is probable that the phrase 'north side' here denotes the present western side of the altar, having been used in the Prayer Book of 1552 in view of the altar standing east and west instead of north and south as at present, and that the celebrant is consequently directed to take the Eastward Position throughout.[2]

A ceremony of great interest, the use of which can be traced back at any rate as far as the sixth century,

[1] See, *e.g.*, S. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.*, xliii. 52.

[2] See an elaborate discussion in Archbishop Benson's judgment in *Read and Others* v. *the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, pp. 18-45.

is the elevation of the consecrated Sacrament.[1] In the Eastern Liturgies it is closely connected with the invitation to the communicants associated with the words 'The holy things to the holy.'[2] The original intention of it is obscure. At first it may have been an instinctive act of reverence in which no very clear distinction was made between a showing to the people for their adoration and an uplifting of the Sacrament to God as part of the sacrificial action of the rite.[3] It afterwards came to be connected with the mystical setting forth of the crucifixion and the resurrection of our Lord. In the West there has long been a corresponding elevation towards the end of the canon of the Mass as a part of the sacrificial action and associated with the ascription of glory to God. The present Roman Missal directs also an elevation of the consecrated Sacrament immediately after consecration.[4] It is probable that this other elevation was added in the eleventh or twelfth century,

[1] See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 483, 486, 581.

[2] Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. These words are used in the Eastern Liturgies in general, and are referred to by S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. M.*, v. 19. They precede the Communion of the officiating ministers. In the present Byzantine rite the deacon elevates the Sacrament when showing it to the people before their Communion in addition to the elevation referred to above: see Brightman, *op. cit.*, i. 395.

[3] Some have thought that the elevation was parallel to the waving of the Jewish peace-offering: see, *e.g.*, Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, II. xiii. 2. It has also been supposed that the significance was to beseech God for the acceptance in heaven of the earthly offering: see Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. II. part i. pp. 175-178; Willis, *The Worship of the Old Covenant*, pp. 175-177.

[4] See 227, *supra*.

possibly in connection with the controversies which sprang out of the teaching of Berengar.[1] A Council held at Paris about 1198, and other Councils, lay stress on the elevation being made so that the people can see;[2] and the present Roman Missal explicitly states that the object is to elicit the adoration of the congregation. The English Prayer Book of 1549 forbade this elevation in the words 'without any elevation or showing the Sacrament to the people.' The Book of 1552 omitted this rubric, and it has never since been restored. In the twenty-eighth of the Articles of Religion it is said that 'the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance' 'lifted up.' It is probable that this carefully worded statement does not commit those who subscribe the Articles to more than a denial that the elevation is an essential part of the celebration of the Sacrament.

It is not clear that there was any ceremonial use of lights in the first three centuries of the Christian Church. This, like other practices, may have been avoided partly because of the peculiar circumstances of the Church's life, and partly to prevent confusion between the methods of Christian and those of heathen worship. But it has been thought by some that the 'many lamps in the upper chamber' at Troas,[3] and the references to the 'seven golden lamp-stands' and the 'seven lamps of fire burning before the throne'

[1] See pp. 79, 80, *supra*. [2] See Hardouin, *Concilia*, vi. (2), 1944.
[3] Acts xx. 8.

by S. John [1] are indications of a ritual use of lights in the time of the Apostles. At any rate, the use of lights for practical purposes paved the way for the ceremonial use of the fourth and fifth centuries. At that time stationary and processional lights were used for many ritual purposes ; [2] and in particular S. Jerome mentions the kindling of the lights at the reading of the Gospel while the sun was shining, as a token of joy and to set forth an illustration of the light of the word of God.[3] It is probable that until the Middle Ages, and in some places much later, the lights used at the celebration of the Eucharist were around the altar, not upon it. The present custom in all the Eastern Churches, and in the Church of Rome, is for the lights, at least two in number, to be placed on the altar or on a shelf above it. They have been regarded as setting forth the doctrine that Christ is the Light of the world. In this instance, as in many others, the symbolism is probably later than the custom, which is likely to have been due rather to a wish to increase the joyfulness and dignity of the service than to the promotion of any particular symbolic idea. In the Church of England neither the Prayer Book of 1549 nor any subsequent English Book orders the use of altar lights. If the 'Ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof' 'as were in use in this

[1] Rev. i. 12, iv. 5.

[2] See Scudamore in Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, ii. 993-998. See also *Peregrinatio Silviæ*.

[3] S. Jerome, *C. Vigilant.*, 8.

Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth,' prescribed in the present Ornaments Rubric, include only those explicitly mentioned in the Prayer Book of 1549, the altar lights are not lawful in the Church of England. On the more probable interpretation of the rubric that it directs the use of all ornaments used under the Order of Communion of 1548 and the Prayer Book of 1549 associated with the rites of the present Book of Common Prayer the altar lights are lawful. They were declared to be legal by Archbishop Benson, though with the restriction, somewhat difficult to justify, that their legality depends on their being lighted before the beginning of the service and extinguished after its close.[1]

The history of the use of incense in some respects resembles that of lights. Though some writers have thought that the references to it in S. John's vision of the heavenly worship[2] indicate that it was used in the first century, it is more likely that there was little or no use of it in the earliest Christian worship. Probably this was due partly to the necessary simplicity before there was a fully ordered organisation of worship, and partly to the need of distinguishing Christianity from both Judaism and heathenism. The book entitled *The Pilgrimage of Silvia* shows that

[1] *Read and Others* v. *the Lord Bishop of Lincoln*, Judgment, pp. 65-80.

[2] Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4.

about 385 incense was used at the weekly vigil of Sunday in the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem in connection with the reading of the Gospel in that service. It is likely that if used at the reading of the Gospel at the vigil service it would also be used at the reading of the Gospel in the Eucharist.[1] It is clear that there was a liturgical use of incense in Egypt early in the sixth century;[2] and the censing of images is referred to by the Second Council of Nicæa in 787.[3] A liturgical use is universal in the Eastern Liturgies; but the uncertainty as to the dates of the present texts forbids any conclusion from them as to the time of its introduction into the Liturgy. In the present Byzantine rite there are censings of the oblations, of the altar, of the church, of the ikons, of the ministers and congregation, and of the Book of the Gospels. There is no censing actually at the consecration; but the altar with the consecrated Sacrament on it is censed during the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints shortly after the consecration. In the West there is evidence for the use of incense in some liturgical method from the fourth century onwards. Possibly the earliest method was that of burning the incense in a hanging censer. Later there was

[1] So careful a writer as Canon Brightman says, 'Perhaps it was the same at the liturgical Gospel': see *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 468.

[2] Ps. Dion. Areop., *De eccl. hier.*, iii. 2, 3 (3).

[3] *Conc. Nic.*, ii., Actio vii., Hardouin, *Concilia*, iv. 456.

the use in procession; and later again the censing of persons and things. The latter included the censing of relics of the saints, of the altar, of the oblations, of the Book of the Gospels, of the ministers, of the congregation, and of the consecrated Sacrament. The censing of the consecrated Sacrament appears to have been the latest of the censings. A reference to it is found in a document of the year 1304, alluding to a benefaction to maintain this use of incense in Chichester Cathedral.[1] Many symbolical meanings are associated with the use of incense in the liturgies and in the liturgical writers. Those which appear to have most authority are the purification and sanctification of the offerings, protection and blessing, the acceptance of the offering because of the merits of Christ, and the idea of worship in general.[2] Like the altar lights the liturgical use of incense would be unlawful in the Church of England on the narrower interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric, which restricts the reference in that rubric to ornaments explicitly ordered in the Prayer Book of 1549, but is lawful on the wider and more reasonable interpretation already mentioned.[3]

[1] The details of the evidence are given in a paper by the Rev. W. H. Frere in *The Case for Incense*, pp. 43-86.

[2] The passages in the Liturgies in Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. 32, 64, 65, 71, 72, 74-76, 118, 122, 123, 124, 129, 150, 152, 209, 210, 212, 219, 220, 225, 289, 360, 379, 420 deserve careful attention. Cf. a paper by the present writer in *The Case for Incense*, pp. 97-101.

[3] See p. 267, *supra*. Probably most of those who have given much

The kiss of peace alluded to in the New Testament[1] was habitually practised in the early Church, and formed part of all the great acts of Christian worship. It was a sign of brotherly love and of the reverence in which the body of a Christian was held. In particular it was associated with the Eucharist. It occurred at different places in the service in different rites. It was originally and for long an actual kiss. Modifications were introduced in the West about the thirteenth century;[2] and it became customary for a small wooden or metal plate to be kissed by the ministers and then by the congregation. In the Church of Rome at the present time the kiss does not take place at all at Low Mass; at High Mass an embrace limited to the ministers and other clergy is substituted for it; in a few churches the mediæval implement is still used. In the East also the actual kiss has fallen into disuse. In the Byzantine rite the priest kisses the oblation, and the deacon kisses the stole; among some of the separated Easterns a kiss of the hand or a bow is substituted.[3] The same idea as that in the kiss of peace is found in

time and thought to the consideration of the subjects would regard the 'opinions' of Archbishop Temple and Archbishop Maclagan, in 1899 and 1900, hostile to the ceremonial use of incense, processional lights, and reservation as hasty and ill-considered.

[1] Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 S. Pet. v. 14.

[2] The earliest reference to the modification is in the Provincial Canons of Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, in 1250. See Johnson, *English Canons*, ii. 176.

[3] See details in Brightman, *op. cit.*, i. 585.

the practice of kissing the altar or the Book of the Gospels.[1]

The Agape or Love-feast was a common meal held in connection with the Eucharist in commemoration of the Last Supper. It is referred to by S. Paul,[2] by S. Jude,[3] and probably by S. Peter.[4] It originally preceded the Eucharist. By the middle of the second century it had been separated from the Eucharist in, at any rate, most places. A survival of the practice of its preceding the Eucharist in some parts of Egypt is mentioned with evident condemnation by the historian Socrates in the fifth century as an exception to the otherwise universal rule of communicating fasting.[5] The Agape, after being separated from the Eucharist, gradually fell into disuse everywhere.[6]

The vestments worn by the clergy at the altar appear to have been originally those of common life. As customs changed, they were retained by the Church when they were laid aside as ordinary garments, and from time to time somewhat modified. The vestments

[1] It is probable that the custom of kissing the altar originated in connection with the Eucharist being celebrated on the tombs of the martyrs in the early Church.

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 17-34. [3] S. Jude 12.

[4] See the revisers' text of 2 S. Pet. ii. 13.

[5] Socrates, *H.E.*, v. 22.

[6] For many details about the history of the Agape, see Keating, *The Agape and the Eucharist*. For a rejection of the ordinary view about the Agape and a criticism of this rejection, see Batiffol in Vacant, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, i. 551-556, and *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive*, pp. 277-311; Funk, *L'Agape* in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Janvier, 1903, pp. 5-23.

now ordinarily used in the East include the alb; the cuffs on the sleeves of the alb; the stole, somewhat different from a Western stole and with variations in different parts of the East; the girdle; the chasuble, differing considerably in different parts of the East and from those in use in the West; and in the case of bishops the pallium, a long scarf worn over the chasuble. In the Church of Rome at the present time, as throughout the West in the Middle Ages, the vestments are the amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole, and chasuble. The dalmatic and tunicle are worn by the deacon and subdeacon respectively at High Mass instead of the chasuble; the deacon then wears the stole over one shoulder; the subdeacon does not wear a stole. A bishop when fully vested wears the dalmatic and tunicle under the chasuble.

In the English Prayer Book of 1549 it was ordered that 'At the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion the priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope. And where there be many priests or deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the priest in the ministration as shall be requisite; and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albs with tunicles.' The Prayer Book of 1552 abolished the Eucharistic vestments altogether. In the Prayer Book of 1559 the Eucharistic

vestments, either those of the Book of 1549 or those previously in use, were restored by the rubric ordering 'The minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book.' In 1662 the present rubric similarly ordered the use of the Eucharistic vestments, saying: 'Such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.' As a matter of fact, however, the Eucharistic vestments, by a process which cannot be traced, fell into disuse in the Church of England. The restoration of them began as one of the results of the Oxford Movement, and they are now habitually used in a very large number of English Churches.

The offering of the Eucharist is an act of sacrifice in which, in the power of His risen and glorified life and through the operation of the Holy Ghost, our Lord presents His slain but living Manhood to the Father. This aspect of the Eucharist involves the fact that the offering is made to God the Father. Accordingly we find it to be the rule of the Church that in the Eucharistic prayers the Father is addressed. An African canon of the fourth century expresses the

ordinary law of the Church in saying: 'At the altar prayer is always to be addressed to the Father.'[1] Yet the real deity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost necessitates that they cannot be altogether separated from the reception of the sacrifice. Parts of the Eastern rites contemplate the making of the offering to the Holy Trinity.[2] Eucharistic prayer addressed to our Lord is found in the non-Roman Western Liturgies.[3] The modern Roman Missal contains a collect addressed to Him.[4] In the English Book of Common Prayer the collects for the Third Sunday in Advent, for S. Stephen's Day, for the First Sunday in Lent are addressed to our Lord; that for Trinity Sunday is addressed to the Holy Trinity. And the Divine Person of our Lord present in His Sacrament of necessity claims the adoration of His creatures.

A question has sometimes been raised, and can never be very far from the minds of many, as to those on whose behalf the Eucharistic sacrifice can be offered. The Syrian rite of the fourth century, as represented in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, contains supplications 'for our enemies and those who hate us; for those who persecute us on account of the name of the Lord,

[1] Council of Hippo (A.D. 393), can. 21; Third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), can. 23. See Hardouin, *Concilia*, i. 963; Hefele, *History of the Councils*, ii. 398, 407, 408 (English translation).

[2] See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, *e.g.*, pp. 318, 378, 384, 448.

[3] See Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, pp. 397, 398.

[4] *Missale Romanum*, in festo S. Joseph Confessoris.

that the Lord may soften their anger and scatter their wrath against us; for those who are without and are wandering in error, that the Lord may convert them' in the earlier part of the Liturgy before the dismissal of the catechumens. At a later point, after the consecration, the same rite has prayers 'for those who hate us and persecute us on account of Thy name; for those who are without and are wandering in error, that Thou mayest convert them to good and soften their anger.'[1] In one of his letters, written in A.D. 427, S. Augustine incidentally mentions that 'the priest of God at the altar exhorts the people of God to pray for unbelievers that God may convert them to the faith, for catechumens that He may inspire them with desire for regeneration, and for the faithful that by His gift they may persevere in that which they have begun to be.'[2] On the other hand, the prayers of the Liturgies in general are for Christians; and in a treatise written about eight years earlier than the letter just quoted S. Augustine, while discussing the question of prayers for those who have died unbaptized, says several times that 'the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ' is offered only for those who are 'members of Christ,' and speaks of this restriction as 'the Catholic faith and the rule of the Church.'[3] In later times the ordinary practice in the official prayers

[1] *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 10, 12.
[2] S. Augustine, *Ep.*, ccxvii. 2. Cf. *Retract.*, i. 19 (7).
[3] *Idem*, *De Anima*, i. 10, 13; ii. 15, 21; iii. 18.

used at the Eucharist has been to refer specifically to Christians only. In the English Prayer Book the third Collect for Good Friday, which was based on the Sarum Office for the same day, is a prayer for 'all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics,' with a view to their conversion; and some have associated this with a practice of not celebrating the Eucharist on Good Friday. Similar prayers are said in the Church of Rome on Good Friday in connection with the Mass of the Pre-sanctified.[1] The question has been discussed by Roman Catholic theologians, and there are two decisions of Congregation, dated April 19, 1837, and July 12, 1865, bearing on it. The outcome of such discussions, and of these decisions, appears to be an opinion that, while the direct offering of the Mass is for all living and departed Christians not under excommunication, prayers for the unbaptized and excommunicate while living may be connected with the offering, provided that the object is their conversion or restoration.[2] All due weight must certainly be given to the argument that the pleading of the body and blood of Christ is for those who are His members. When this has been done, there would still seem to be insuperable difficulty in excluding from the prayers of the Church in offering the sacri-

[1] In the Mass of the Pre-sanctified there is no consecration; the priest gives himself Communion from the Sacrament reserved on Maundy Thursday.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Lehmkuhl, *Theologia Moralis*, ii. §§ 175-181; Schouppe, *Elementa Theologiæ Dogmaticæ*, xiii. §§ 326, 327.

fice of Christ any who may be included in the Intercession of Christ Himself. Some restrictions may be necessary as to those publicly mentioned at the altar, as to exclude the name of a departed infidel. It does not follow that the same restrictions apply to the private prayers of the priest who celebrates, or of Christians who are present when the sacrifice is pleaded.

No surprise need be occasioned by the fact that many abuses from time to time have gathered round this Sacrament. 'The corruption of what is best becomes what is worst.' Human nature has a strange faculty for perverting what is good. It would be painful, and in a book of this kind could serve no useful purpose, to recount at length such abuses. It may suffice to mention three by way of illustration. In Africa, near the end of the fourth century, condemnation had to be passed on a practice of giving the Sacrament to the dead.[1] In Spain, near the end of the seventh century, it was necessary to put down a custom of saying Mass for the dead for a living person as a means, as was thought, of bringing about his death.[2] In England and elsewhere, in the early years of the sixteenth century, there were those who thought that a Mass said on their behalf could be a set-off against unforgiven sin.[3] That the student of

[1] Council of Hippo (A.D. 393), can. 4 (series ii.). See Hefele, *The Councils of the Church*, ii. 397 (English translation).

[2] Council of Toledo (A.D. 694), cap. 5 (Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii. 1814).

[3] See Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.*, XII. xi. 69-74; Cajetan, *Quæst. atque Quodlib.* (*De Sacr. Euch.*).

the history of the Eucharist finds much that is strange and even repulsive is but one other instance of the truth of the Apostle's words: 'It is God that said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels.'[1]

This Sacrament has been known by many names. The 'Lord's Supper' recalls the institution. The 'Holy Communion' emphasises the gift. The 'Eucharist' reminds of the attitude of thanksgiving with which it should be offered and received. The 'Liturgy' suggests that service of the Lord of which it is the centre and the means. The 'Oblation' or the 'Sacrifice' denotes its connection with the acts of Christ on Calvary and in Heaven. The 'Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,' or the 'Sacrament of the Eucharist,' or the 'Sacrament of the Lord's Table,' or the 'Sacrament of the Altar,' or the 'Blessed Sacrament,' illustrates in differing ways that it is at once a pledge of divine blessing and a promise of human dedication, a gift of God and an offering of man, a means of grace and a ratification of service. The 'Mass,' a word originally meaning 'dismissal' and so denoting the act of worship after which the worshippers were sent away from the Church, lays stress through its associations on the momentous facts of the historic continuity of the Church of Christ,

[1] 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.

and that English and foreign Churchpeople, seemingly so divided, are really at one in the central devotion of their lives.[1]

[1] The word 'missa,' of which 'Mass' is the English form, is connected with the verb 'mitto.' The earliest known use of 'missa' for the Eucharist is in S. Ambrose, *Ep.*, xx. 4. About the same time (A.D. 385) it is used in the sense of 'dismissal' in *Peregrinatio Silviæ*. For the wider meaning of the word 'Mass' see, *e.g.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 38, 'Shall I come to you at evening mass.' For differing explanations of this phrase, see Bowden, *The Religion of Shakespeare*, pp. 271-274.

The general subject of *Religious Ceremonial* is to receive separate treatment in a later volume of this series by the Rev. W. H. Frere.

CHAPTER XV

THE EUCHARIST IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND LIFE

The Eucharist fills an important place in the evidences for Christian doctrine and divine love. The fact that in all places and at all times, from the first to the twentieth century, the Eucharist has been found wherever the full system of the Christian Church has been set up, will appeal to many as a significant indication of the truth of the Christian religion. There will seem to them to be insuperable difficulty in accounting for this concurrence amid so numerous and great divergences, apart from the existence of a divinely revealed and ordained faith. And this conviction will be strengthened rather than lessened by the knowledge of those many imperfect and marred rites in which the image of God within man has struggled towards the truth, and by the consideration of the real meaning of the ceremonies of the religion of the Jews.[1]

Within the Christian religion itself the Eucharist

[1] See pp. 1-9, *supra*.

supports and illuminates other doctrines. It ratifies the meaning, and carries out the results of the Incarnation. The union of Godhead and Manhood in the one divine Person of the Word has fuller significance and more practical effects as our Lord has provided an abiding Sacrament for the continual reception of His life. The doctrine of the Atonement is enshrined and protected by the fact of the unceasing presentation of the sacrifice of Christ. The Resurrection and Ascension are seen to be events of living meaning and permanent value in the light of the Eucharistic gift of the risen and ascended body and blood of the Lord. The personality and deity and power of the Holy Ghost are manifested in those operations whereby He, acting in heaven on the glorified Manhood of Christ, and acting on earth on the bread and wine, and on the bodies and souls of the faithful, makes Christ present in the Sacrament, uplifts the earthly sacrifice to the heavenly altar, and raises Christians to take part in the worship before the throne of God. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity has a new and practical meaning when it is realised that 'We move forward to' God's 'high altar surrounded, encompassed on every side by the whole fulness and abundance of the Godhead. It is the Highest, the Holy, the Eternal, who spreads His table; it is the blessed, the everlasting Intercessor whose flesh and blood we eat and drink; it is the Holy Comforter, who spreads out hands from within

us to receive from the hands of the Father the body of the Son. And all Three are One. That which is given is holy as God Himself, the Giver; it is not less holy than He; the Gift is as utterly and entirely divine as the Father Himself who gives it; the Receiver is no less holy and pure than the Gift or the Giver. Nothing is lost of the preciousness of the Gift, nothing is spoilt or sullied; whole and entire, the Spirit of God receives that holy thing which the Father gives and presents.'[1] And the central fact of all truth, the love of God, receives a richness of interpretation which knows no limit in the light of the boundless gifts which the Sacrament of the altar may be, and has been, and is the means of bestowing on Christian souls. To attempt to grasp the real meaning of the Eucharist one must look away for the moment from the researches of the historian and the statements of the dogmatic theologian. So far as these are true history and sound theology, they have their place in Christian thought, and they may not be ignored. But after all they are only means to an end, not the end itself. It is their high task to hand on and bring home and protect the living truth, which the mystic knows in the shrine of his heart. It is rather with Thomas of Aquino singing as the saint than with the Angelic Doctor writing as the theologian that the light and rest of the soul will be found.

[1] H. S. Holland, *Logic and Life*, pp. 225, 226.

There is an element of comfort even in those hateful controversies which have surrounded the Eucharistic gift of God. If men had not realised something of the importance of that about which they contended, they had never struggled so much. And those who, like the present writer, see in the belief that the consecrated bread and wine are in literal truth the very body and blood of their crucified and living Lord a fact of intense spiritual value, need to bear in mind how much the Sacrament may mean even for those who differ from them. In all positive truth, however imperfect, there is an element of life. It is only as men deny and make negations, and condemn and excommunicate, that their work is barren. The Calvinist who believes that though the elements are not the body and blood of Christ, yet in his Communion he receives Christ, holds a truth on which his soul may live. The Virtualist who believes that though nothing more, yet the virtue and power of Christ's body and blood are given in the Sacrament, acknowledges a fact which, however imperfect, means much. Even the Zwinglian, with his mere pledge and his empty memorial, has something to help him to remember the Lord. It is only as these pass beyond their affirmations and begin to deny fuller truth that they are a source of mischief. And as it is true that in their hours of prayer men think of what they affirm, not of what they deny, the moment of Communion may mean much even to those who

have little perception of what it involves. There are controversies, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated in the realm of thought, which lose some of their bitterest features before the throne of God.

To review the history of the Eucharist is to renew one's sense of the ignorance of man. Whatever is known and told of this great Sacrament must always leave more to know and tell. Those who have pondered most on it will be most inclined to echo in regard to it the words of the great poet about the Beatific Vision itself:

> Ah me! how brief and stammering now is heard
> All speech compared with thought, and that to this
> I saw is such that 'small' is scarce the word.[1]

And yet the greatness even of what can be said is overpowering. Beneath veils of earthly matter is the very presence of the essential nature of that divine Being whom the poet addressed:

> O Light Eternal, who, of all that is,
> Dwell'st in Thyself, and know'st Thyself alone,
> And knowing, lov'st Thyself, Thyself Thy bliss![2]

This truth can be put in words; the mind and heart in awe wonder what it means. That He who is God from everlasting and Man for evermore should enter into human bodies and souls is more easily stated than understood. That the sacrifice of Calvary should be perpetuated in heaven and proclaimed on earth

[1] Dante, *Paradise*, xxxiii. 121-123 (Plumptre's translation).
[2] *Op. cit.*, xxxiii. 124-126.

is full of profound mystery as well as of simple thought.

Christian devotion has lavishly used its language in describing Him whom in the Eucharist the soul adores and receives. He is 'the Physician of life,' 'the Fountain of mercy,' 'the Light of eternal splendour,' 'the Lord of heaven and earth,' 'the King of glory,' 'the Good Shepherd,' 'the Creator,' 'the kind Comforter,' 'the Pitier,' 'the Bestower of pardon,' 'the Justifier,' 'the Infuser of grace,' 'the Bread of angels,' 'the King of kings,' 'the Lord of lords,' 'the Great High Priest,' 'the True Priest,' 'the Saving Victim,' 'the awful Majesty,' 'the gracious God.' Realising the power of the life of Christ and the truth of Communion in it, Christians have been able to pray: 'O Bread most sweet, heal Thou the palate of my heart, that I may feel the sweetness of Thy love. Heal it of all weakness and frailty, that it may be set upon no sweetness but Thyself. O Bread most fair, full of all delight and savour, that ever refreshest us and never failest, may my heart feed on Thee, and may my inmost soul be filled with the sweetness of Thy taste.' 'Come into my heart and cleanse me from all defilement of flesh and spirit. Enter into my soul, and heal and cleanse me within and without. Be Thou the succour and abiding defence of my soul and body.' Into the power of the sacrifice they have been able to join the joys and griefs and desires of the world, 'the

sorrows of' Christ's 'people,' 'the troubles and perils of nations,' 'the sorrowful sighing of prisoners,' 'the miseries of widows and orphans and all that are desolate and bereaved,' 'the necessities of strangers and travellers,' 'the helplessness and sadness of the weak and sickly,' 'the weakness of the aged and of children,' 'the trials and aspirations of young men and maidens.' Into the Sacrament of the altar, the Christian sacrifice, are joined all confessions of sin, all supplications for gifts, all intercessions for the good of others, all thanksgivings for boons, all worship of God's glory; out of the many minds of Christians, all with their own thoughts and their own prayers, 'rises one Eucharistic hymn, and the great Action is the measure and the scope of it.'[1]

A book on the Eucharist may well end with the hymn of S. Thomas Aquinas still used as the sequence on the feast of Corpus Christi in the Latin Church.

Laud, O Sion, thy Salvation,
Laud with hymns of exultation,
  Christ, thy King and Shepherd true:
Bring Him all the praise thou knowest,
He is more than thou bestowest,
  Never canst thou reach His due.

Special theme for glad thanksgiving
Is the quickening and the living
  Bread to-day before thee set:
From His hands of old partaken,
As we know, by faith unshaken,
  Where the Twelve at supper met.

[1] Newman, *Loss and Gain*, p. 329.

Full and clear ring out thy chanting,
Joy nor sweetest grace be wanting,
From thy heart let praises burst:
For to-day the feast is holden,
When the institution olden
Of that Supper was rehearsed.

Here the new law's new oblation,
By the new King's revelation
Ends the form of ancient rite:
Now the new the old effaces,
Truth away the shadow chases,
Light dispels the gloom of night.

What He did at Supper seated,
Christ ordained to be repeated,
His memorial ne'er to cease:
And His rule for guidance taking,
Bread and wine we hallow, making
Thus our sacrifice of peace.

This the truth each Christian learneth,
Bread into His flesh He turneth,
To His precious blood the wine:
Sight hath failed, nor thought conceiveth,
But a dauntless faith believeth,
Resting on a power divine.

Here beneath these signs are hidden
Priceless things, to sense forbidden;
Signs, not things, are all we see:[1]
Blood is poured, and flesh is broken,
Yet in either wondrous token
Christ entire we know to be.

---

[1] 'Signis tantum et non rebus.' These words were evidently intended by S. Thomas Aquinas to assert the doctrine of Transubstantiation. As translated above, they may be understood in the sense that what is important in the Sacrament is the presence of the body and blood of Christ.

Whoso of this food partaketh,
Rendeth not the Lord nor breaketh—
  Christ is whole to all that taste :
Thousands are, as one, receivers,
One, as thousands of believers,
  Eats of Him who cannot waste.

Bad and good the feast are sharing,
O what diverse dooms preparing,
  Endless death, or endless life :
Life to these—to those damnation,
See how like participation
  Is with unlike issues rife.

When the Sacrament is broken,
Doubt not, but believe 'tis spoken
That each severed outward token
  Doth the very whole contain :
Nought the precious Gift divideth,
Breaking but the sign betideth,
Jesus still the same abideth,
  Still unbroken doth remain.

Lo ! the angels' food is given
To the pilgrim who hath striven ;
See the children's Bread from heaven,
  Which on dogs may not be spent :
Truth the ancient types fulfilling,
Isaac bound, a victim willing,
Paschal lamb, its life-blood spilling,
  Manna to the fathers sent.

Very Bread, good Shepherd, tend us,
Jesu, of Thy love befriend us,
Thou refresh us, Thou defend us,
Thine eternal goodness send us
  In the land of life to see ;
Thou who all things canst and knowest,
Who on earth such food bestowest,
Grant us with Thy saints, though lowest,
Where the heavenly feast Thou showest,
  Fellow-heirs and guests to be.

NOTES

I. *The Last Supper and the Passover.*

The difficulty alluded to in the text arises from the apparent difference between the Synoptic Gospels and S. John's Gospel. The Synoptists seem to speak of the Last Supper as the keeping of the Passover. See S. Matt. xxvi. 17-19; S. Mark xiv. 12-16; S. Luke xxii. 7-16. S. John seems to mean that the Passover did not begin till after the crucifixion: (1) he says the Last Supper was before the feast of the Passover: xiii. 1; (2) he mentions that when Judas went out some thought his object was to buy something for the feast: xiii. 29; (3) he says the Jews on the day after the Last Supper did not enter the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled and consequently unable to keep the Passover: xviii. 28; (4) he speaks of the day of the crucifixion as the day of the preparation of the Passover: xix. 14.

Thus the apparent meaning of the Synoptists is that the Passover lamb was killed on the Thursday afternoon; and the apparent meaning of S. John is that the Passover lamb was killed on the Friday afternoon. Differently put, the Synoptists appear to place the crucifixion on Nisan 15; and S. John appears to place the crucifixion on Nisan 14.

Among the many suggestions made to explain this apparent divergence have been: (1) that our Lord kept an anticipatory Passover one day before the ordinary day; (2) that the Jewish Passover was postponed by the chief priests as part of their

scheme for putting our Lord to death; (3) that S. John does not by the feast mean the beginning of the Passover but the later days.

But it is questionable whether the apparent meaning of the Synoptists as stated above is what they really mean. There are indications in their narratives that they knew that the Passover did not begin till the afternoon of the day after the Last Supper: (1) The chief priests say with reference to the arrest of our Lord, 'Not during the feast': S. Matt. xxvi. 5; S. Mark xiv. 2; (2) They represent arms as carried by the guard and by one of the disciples: S. Matt. xxvi. 47, 51; S. Mark xiv. 43, 47; S. Luke xxii. 50, 52; (3) They represent the trial as being after the Last Supper; (4) They call the day of the crucifixion the 'Preparation': S. Matt. xxvii. 62; cf. S. Mark xv. 42; S. Luke xxiii. 54; and it is unlikely that the feast day would be simply so called; (5) The coming from work of Simon of Cyrene in S. Mark xv. 21 and S. Luke xxiii. 26; the buying of the linen cloth by Joseph of Arimathea in S. Mark xv. 46; and the preparing of spices by the women in S. Luke xxiii. 56 (but cf. S. Mark xvi. 1) would all be contrary to the observance of the feast. These considerations tend in the direction of the real meaning of the Synoptists being the same as the *prima facie* meaning of S. John; and also of there being some explanation of their apparent meaning. The question is one in which it is well to suspend judgment, recognising that if all the facts were known there might be proof that there is no inconsistency in the different accounts.

For some discussion of the theory of Dr. Chwolson that the Synoptic expression 'the first day of unleavened bread when they sacrificed the Passover' is a contradiction in terms, and of that of Father Power that there was a traditional rule which our Lord disregarded against keeping a Friday Passover, see Sanday in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 634; Lambert in *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1903.

For the suggestion that the association in the Last Supper was not with the Passover but with the 'Kiddûsh,' see Box in *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1902; 'B' in *Ephemerides Liturgicæ*, February 1903, pp. 83, 84; and for criticisms on it Lambert *u. s.*

II. *Hebrews* xiii. 10.

It has been suggested to the writer that there is no reference in this passage to anything Christian, but that the contrast is simply between the priests and the Levites under the Jewish dispensation. In support of this interpretation it is said: (1) it gives a good explanation to the phrase 'which serve the tabernacle' (οἱ τῇ σκηνῇ λατρεύοντες); (2) it keeps a closer connection with verse 11; (3) it harmonises with the reference to what is Christian not beginning till verse 12.

This suggested interpretation, however, does not allow for (1) the facts that 'serve' (λατρεύω) is used of priests in viii. 5; and that its use in the Septuagint is too frequent and in too general a sense to justify a particular reference to the work of the Levites here; (2) the general setting of the verse and its relation to the Epistle in general, which strongly support a reference in it to what is Christian.

If an application to what is Christian is admitted at all, it is very difficult, for the reasons mentioned in the text, to avoid a reference to the Eucharist.

III. *Patristic Expressions thought to favour Transubstantiation.*

Among the more important of the passages alluded to in the text are the following.

S. Ambrose, *De Fide*, iv. 124: 'As often as we receive the Sacraments, which by means of the mystery of the holy prayer are transformed (*transfigurantur*) into flesh and blood, we proclaim the death of the Lord.'

S. Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. Cat.*, xxxvii. : 'Rightly, then, I believe that now also the bread which is consecrated (ἁγιαζόμενον) by the word of God is transmade (μεταποιεῖσθαι) into the body of God the Word. . . . The bread, as the Apostle says, is consecrated (ἁγιάζεται) by the word of God and prayer, not through food and drink passing on into the body of the Word, but straightway transmade (μεταποιούμενος) into the body of the Word, as was said by the Word, This is my body. . . . These things He gives, transelementing (μεταστοιχειώσας) by the power of the blessing the nature of the things that are seen into that.'

S. Chrysostom, *De Prod. Jud.*, i. 6 : 'Christ now also is present. He who adorned that table is He who now also adorns this. For it is not man who makes the gifts that are set forth to become the body and blood of Christ; but Christ Himself who was crucified for us. The priest stands fulfilling a figure (σχῆμα πληρῶν), speaking those words, but the power and grace are of God. This is My body, he says. This word re-orders (μεταῤῥυθμίζει) the gifts that are set forth.'

Idem, *In Matt. Hom.* lxxxii. 5 : 'The gifts that are set forth are not the work of human power. He who then did these things at that Supper is He who now also accomplishes them. We hold the rank of ministers. But it is He who consecrates (ἁγιάζων) and transforms (μετασκευάζων) them.'

S. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in S. Lu.*, on xxii. 19, 20 : 'God, condescending to our infirmities, sends the power of life into the gifts that are set forth, and transfers (μεθίστησιν) them into the efficacy (ἐνέργειαν) of His own flesh.'

When the use of this kind of phraseology in these writers is carefully examined, it is seen that it does not necessarily involve any alteration in the natural substance of the bread and wine, since they elsewhere use similar expressions in cases in which it is clear that there is no removal of what has been. There is a very full discussion of such passages in Pusey, *The*

Doctrine of the Real Presence, pp. 162-264. As to S. Gregory of Nyssa, cf. Srawley, *The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa*, pp. xxxvi-xlii, 143, 150.

IV. *Earliest Use of the Word 'Transubstantiation.'*

Harnack (*History of Dogma*, vi. 51, English translation) says that the first instance known to him of the use of the word 'Transubstantiation' is at the beginning of the twelfth century, in the ninety-third sermon of Hildebert of Tours (Migne, *P.L.*, clxxi. 776). Possibly an earlier instance may be in the treatise, *Expositio Canonis Missæ*, ascribed to S. Peter Damian, who died in A.D. 1072. The writer of that treatise says that when the word 'hoc' in the sentence 'hoc est corpus meum' is said, 'nondum est transubstantiatio' (§ 7) (Migne, *P.L.*, cxlv. 883). Cardinal Mai's reasons for thinking this treatise the work of S. Peter Damian are in Migne, *P.L.*, cxlv. 863. The first instance of the corresponding verb 'transubstantiare' appears to be in Stephen of Autun, in the first half of the twelfth century: see his *Tract. de Sacr. Altaris*, 14 (Migne, *P.L.*, clxxii. 1293). Cf. Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, p. 268.

V. *The Decree of the Fourth Lateran Council on the Eucharist.*

The decrees assented to by the Fourth Lateran Council in A.D. 1215 included the statement: 'There is one Universal Church of the faithful, outside which no one at all is in a state of salvation. In this Church Jesus Christ Himself is both Priest and Sacrifice; and His body and blood are really contained in the Sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by the power of God, so that, to effect the mystery of unity, we ourselves receive of that which is His what He Himself received of that which is ours.'

VI. *Luther's Eucharistic Teaching.*

The passage referred to in the note on p. 118 is as follows: 'In the Mass the word of Christ is the testament; the bread and wine are the Sacrament. And as there is greater power in the word than in the sign, so is there greater power in the testament than in the Sacrament. A man can have and use the word or testament without the sign or Sacrament. "Believe," saith Augustine, "and thou hast eaten"; but in what do we believe except in the word of Him who promises? Thus I can have the Mass daily, nay hourly, since, as often as I will, I can set before myself the words of Christ, and nourish and strengthen my faith in them; and this is in very truth spiritual eating and drinking.'

This passage is on p. 326 of *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church,* in Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works.* It should be compared with the teaching of John Wessel, referred to on pp. 93, 94, *supra.*

VII. *Lutheran Documents.*

In the Confession of Augsburg of 1530 it was stated, 'Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that the body and blood of Christ are really present, and are given to those who partake at the Supper of the Lord; and they condemn those who teach otherwise' (article 10, *Sylloge Confessionum,* p. 126). A statement entitled 'Concerning the Mass' in the appendix on the amendment of abuses declared that the Lutherans had not 'abolished the Mass,' 'for the Mass is retained among us, and is celebrated with the greatest reverence'; condemned payment for Masses, and private Masses on the ground that they had been inextricably mixed up with the practice of paying for them; referred to the errors by which the Mass had been regarded as a satisfaction for actual sin parallel to the death of

our Lord as a satisfaction for original sin, and as a 'work blotting out the sins of the living and the dead, by the mere fact of its being offered'; and apparently limited the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist to a recollection of Christ on the part of the communicants (*Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 138-141).

In the revised Confession of Augsburg of 1540 the article quoted above was altered to 'Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that together with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are really presented to those who partake at the Supper of the Lord' (*Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 172). In this revised form of the article should be noticed: (1) the assertion 'together with the bread and wine' is added; (2) the statement that 'the body and blood of Christ are really present' is omitted; (3) the statement that 'the body and blood of Christ' 'are given (*distribuantur*)' is altered to 'the body and blood of Christ' 'are presented (*exhibeantur*)'; (4) the words 'they condemn those who teach otherwise' are omitted.

The teaching about the sacrifice in the Confession of 1540 appears to be the same as that in the Confession of 1530. See *Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 191-198.

The Saxon Confession of 1551 represents substantially the same position as the Confession of Augsburg. In two points, as stated in the text (pp. 119, 120), there are statements of considerable importance in it. It admits the use of the words sacrifice and offering by the ancient Church; interprets them of 'the whole action, prayer, reception, recollection, faith, hope, confession, and thanksgiving'; and adds that the Lutherans in preserving 'the whole rite of the Church of the Apostles' in preaching, prayer, worship, and the use of the Sacraments 'preserve with the greatest reverence the continual sacrifice.' See *Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 284-287. It explicitly limits the presence of Christ to His being in the Sacrament when it is treated in accordance with the ordained use, so that apart from the ordained use of Communion He is not present. So far as

this ordained use of Communion is concerned, the words are 'In the ordained use Christ is really and substantially present in this Communion, and the body and blood of Christ are really presented to those who receive.' See *Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 241, 282, 285.

VIII. *The 'King's Book' on the Eucharist.*

The most important passages about the Eucharist in the *King's Book* are the following:

'The Sacrament of the altar . . . among all the Sacraments is of incomparable dignity and virtue, forasmuch as in the other Sacraments the outward kind of the thing which is used in them remaineth still in their own nature and substance unchanged. But in this most high Sacrament of the altar, the creatures which be taken to the use thereof, as bread and wine, do not remain still in their own substance, but by the virtue of Christ's word in the consecration be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ. So that although there appear the form of bread and wine, after the consecration, as did before, and to the outward senses nothing seemeth to be changed, yet must we, forsaking and renouncing the persuasion of our senses in this behalf, give our assent only to faith, and to the plain word of Christ, which affirmeth that substance there offered, exhibited, and received, to be the very precious body and blood of our Lord, as is plainly written by the Evangelists, and also by S. Paul.'

'He that receiveth this Sacrament worthily under the one kind, as under the form of bread only, receiveth the whole body and blood of Christ, and as many and great benefits of Christ as he that receiveth it in both kinds.'

'It was thought good to the apostles, and the Universal Church, being moved with the Holy Ghost, for the more

honour of so high a Sacrament, and for the more reverence and devout receiving thereof, that it should always be received of Christian people when they be fasting, and before they receive any bodily sustenance, except it be in case of sickness or necessity.'

See Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. 262, 263, 265, 268.

IX. *Cranmer's Eucharistic Doctrine.*

It has sometimes been maintained that Cranmer held a doctrine much nearer the traditional doctrine than that described in the text on the ground of statements in his books that Christ is present in the Sacrament. This does not derive support from a careful consideration of his phraseology in general and of the context in which such statements stand; and it appears to be disproved by the following passage in the preface to his *An Answer unto a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation*, p. 3 (Parker Society's edition):

'Where I use to speak sometimes (as the old authors do) that Christ is in the Sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter; that is to say, not of Christ's carnal presence in the outward Sacrament, but sometimes of His sacramental presence. And sometime by this word Sacrament I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the Sacraments, either of Baptism, or of the Lord's Supper: and so the old writers many times do say, that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the Sacraments; not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine (which be only the outward visible Sacraments), but that in the due ministration of the Sacraments according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and His Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily

receive the same. Moreover, when I say and repeat many times in my book that the body of Christ is present in them that worthily receive the Sacrament; lest any man should mistake my words, and think that I mean that, although Christ be not corporally in the outward visible signs, yet He is corporally in the persons that duly receive them, this is to advertise the reader that I mean no such thing; but my meaning is, that the force, the grace, the virtue and benefit of Christ's body that was crucified for us, and of His blood that was shed for us, be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the Sacraments: but all this I understand of His spiritual presence, of the which He saith, "I will be with you until the world's end"; and, "wheresoever two or three be gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them"; and "he that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me, and I in him." Nor no more truly is He corporally or really present in the due ministration of the Lord's Supper than He is in the due ministration of Baptism.'

X. *The Forty-five Draft Articles on the Eucharist.*

The articles in this document which concern the Eucharist are the following:—

'xxvi. Of the Sacraments.

'Our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people with Sacraments most few in number, most easy to be kept, most excellent in signification. As is Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which two only have been ordained in the Church as Sacraments by Christ the Lord, and which alone have the proper nature of Sacraments.

'Sacraments were not ordained by Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should rightly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a

wholesome effect, and yet not that of the work wrought, as some men speak, which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly but a very superstitious sense. But they that receive unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as S. Paul saith.

'Sacraments ordained by the word of God be not only marks of profession among Christians, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken but also strengthen our faith in Him.'

'xxix. Of the Lord's Supper.

'The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another: but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death. Inasmuch as to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.'

'xxx. Of Transubstantiation.

'Transubstantiation of the bread and wine in the Eucharist cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and has given occasion to many superstitions.'

'xxxi. Of the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

'Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth that it cannot be at the same time in many places but in some certain and fixed place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places. And because, as Holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into heaven, and shall there continue until the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence, as they term it, of His flesh and blood in the Eucharist.'

'xxxii. The Sacrament of the Eucharist not to be kept.

'The Sacrament of the Eucharist was not by Christ's ordinance kept, or carried about, or lifted up, or worshipped.'

'xxxiii. Of the one perfect oblation of Christ made upon the cross.

'The offering of Christ made once for ever is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead are fables and dangerous deceits.'

These Articles are printed in Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, pp. 279-288.

XI. *Overall's Eucharistic Doctrine.*

A treatise by Overall entitled *Prælectiones seu Disputationes de Patrum et Christi anima, et de Antichristo* is printed on pp. 203-226 of Archibald Campbell's *The Doctrines of a Middle State between Death and the Resurrection, of Prayers for the Dead, and the Necessity of Purification*, which was published in London in 1721. On pp. 212, 213 of Overall's treatise, as printed by Campbell, there is the following passage about the Eucharist: 'In the Sacrament of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, the body and blood of Christ, and therefore the whole Christ, are indeed really present, and are really received by us, and are really united with the sacramental signs, as signs which not only signify but also convey, so that in the bread rightly given and received the body of Christ is given and received, and in the wine given and received the blood of Christ is given and received, and therefore the whole Christ is communicated in the Communion of the Sacrament. Yet this is not in a carnal, gross, earthly way by Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation, or any like lies of human reason, but in a way mystical, heavenly, and spiritual, as is

rightly laid down in our articles.' This passage is quoted as by Overall, but without any reference, in Alexander Knox's *Remains*, ii. 162, 163. Probably Knox took it from Campbell's book; but as to this there is no evidence. In his *Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church concerning the Eucharistic Presence*, No. vi. pp. 297-299, 'An English Presbyter' says that he has examined the Harleian MS. No. 3142 in the British Museum, and that the passage quoted above as 'so that in the bread rightly given and received the body of Christ is given and received, and in the wine given and received the blood of Christ is given and received (ita ut in recte dato et accepto, detur et accipiatur corpus Christi, dato et accepto vino, detur et accipiatur sanguis Christi)' there reads 'so that in the right use of the Sacrament, and to those who receive worthily, when the bread is given and received, the body of Christ is given and received; and, when the wine is given and received, the blood of Christ is given and received (ita ut in recto usu sacramenti, digneque recipientibus, dato et accepto pane, detur et accipiatur corpus Christi; dato et accepto vino, detur et accipiatur sanguis Christi).'

XII. *Eastern Eucharistic Doctrine.*

The *Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church*, which was approved by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem in 1643, and by the Council of Jerusalem in 1672, asserted that 'the same Son of God, God and Man,' who is in heaven, 'is also on earth' 'in the Holy Eucharist' 'by Transubstantiation (*κατὰ μετουσίωσιν*)'; that 'the substance of the bread is converted (*μεταβάλλεται*) into the substance of His holy body, and the substance of the wine into the substance of His precious blood'; and that it is 'fitting to worship and adore the Holy Eucharist as our Saviour Jesus Himself'; and that immediately after the invocation of the Holy Ghost 'the Transubstantiation (*μετουσίωσις*)

takes place.' See *Orthodox Confession*, i. 56, 107 in Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, i. 126, 180.

The decree of the Council of Jerusalem of 1672 about the Eucharist states that 'the bread is converted (μεταβάλλεσθαι), transubstantiated (μετουσιοῦσθαι), transmade (μεταποιεῖσθαι), and re-ordered (μεταῤῥυθμίζεσθαι) into the real body of the Lord itself, which was born in Bethlehem of the Ever-Virgin, was baptized in Jordan, suffered, was buried, rose, ascended, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and will come on the clouds of heaven; and the wine is transmade (μεταποιεῖσθαι) and transubstantiated (μετουσιοῦσθαι) into the real blood of the Lord itself, which was poured forth for the life of the world when He hung on the cross. . . . After the consecration of the bread and the wine the substance of the bread and the wine no longer remains, but there is the body itself and the blood of the Lord in the species and form of the bread and wine, that is to say, under the accidents (συμβεβηκόσιν) of the bread. . . . The body itself and the blood of the Lord which are in the mystery of the Eucharist ought to be honoured in the highest way, and worshipped with divine adoration (προσκυνεῖσθαι λατρευτικῶς). . . . It is a true and propitiatory sacrifice offered for all the orthodox, living and dead, and for the benefit of all.' See Hardouin, *Concilia*, xi. 252-256.

The Greek Catechisms say that the elements are 'converted' (μεταβάλλονται) by the Holy Ghost into the body and blood of Christ; that the Eucharist is the spiritual food of the soul; and that the Eucharist 'represents to us (ἀναπαρίστησιν ἡμῖν) actually and really the very death and sacrifice of Christ Jesus on the cross.' See the Catechisms of Bernardakis, Moschakis, Kyriakos, and Nektarios.

When the Russian Church in 1838 accepted the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem of 1672, among the alterations made were that the phrase 'the substance of the bread and wine' was changed to 'the very bread and wine,' and the reference to the 'accidents' of the bread and wine were omitted. See

Palmer (of Magdalen College), *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern-Catholic' Communion*, pp. 207, 208; Palmer (of Worcester College), *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, i. 172, 173 (third edition); 'W. J. B.,' 'The Russian Church and the Council of Trent,' in *Guardian*, March 31, 1897.

The *Longer Catechism of the Russian Church* says that 'the bread and wine are changed, or transubstantiated, into the very body of Christ, and into the very blood of Christ. See Blackmore, *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, pp. 89, 91, 92.

There is a fuller treatment of Eastern Eucharistic theology in *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1904, pp. 380-388.

XIII. *Infant Communion in the Later West.*

The *Gelasian Sacramentary* provides that an infant baptized in sickness be given Communion, and that, if he recover, he be subsequently confirmed by the bishop. See Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 117.

An early form of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* directs that at the Easter Baptisms, if the bishop be present, infants be confirmed and then given Communion, and that, if the bishop be not present, the presbyter give them Communion. See Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, ii. 158. A later form of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* contemplates the Communion of the infants baptized at the Easter Baptisms. See S. Gregory the Great, *Opera*, iii. 73 D (Benedictine edition, Paris, 1705).

In 1118 Pope Paschal II. referred to the administration of the Sacrament in the species of wine to infants, *Ep.* ccccxxxv. (Migne, *P.L.*, clxiii. 442).

According to Pellicia, *The Polity of the Christian Church*, p. 19 (English translation), an Amiens Missal published in 1506 contemplated the administration of Communion to infants after Baptism.

There is an interesting treatment of the subject of infant Communion in a book called *Petri Zornii Professoris Regii Ordi-*

narii Historia Eucharistiæ Infantum ex antiquitatibus ecclesiarum tum occidentalium tum orientalium secundum decem sæculorum seriem et multiplicem varietatem illustrata, published at Berlin in 1736.

XIV. *The Fast before Communion.*

This subject is treated with great fulness in Puller, *Concerning the Fast before Communion.* To his instances the following, from works which have recently become better known, may be added :

Canons of Hippolytus, 150-153, 205 : 'Those who are to be baptized, together with the others who are bound by their fast, must eat nothing before they receive the body of Christ; for otherwise this would not be accounted a fast but a sin. If any one in opposition to this takes anything before the Communion of the body, he opposes and despises God. But when the Offering is completed, it is allowed him to eat what he will. Let all the catechumens be gathered together, so that one teacher may suffice for them, who may sufficiently instruct them to pray and kneel, and not to taste anything before those who have been baptized have completed the Communion of the body and blood'; 'Let not any of the faithful taste anything before he has partaken of the mysteries, particularly on the days of the holy fast.'

Testament of our Lord, ii. 20, 25 : 'Let the bishop command that they proclaim that no one taste anything until the Offering is completed. . . . But if any one before he approacheth and receiveth of the Eucharist eat something else, he sinneth and his fast is not reckoned to him'; 'Alway let the faithful take care that before he eat he partake of the Eucharist, that he may be incapable of receiving injury.'

An exception was allowed in the case of the celebrant on Maundy Thursday by the Council of Hippo, canon 28 (series ii.). This exception was rejected by the Council *in Trullo,* canon 29.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Administration, Words of, 245-247.
Adoration, Eucharistic, 54-56, 161, 274.
Agape, 18, 271.
Alms. *See* Collection.
Atonement, 8, 281.
Azymes. *See* Bread.
Aztecs, 2.

Baptism, Relation of, to Communion, 7, 8, 240, 241.
Benediction with the Host, 252.
Bread, Leavened, 202-205.
—— Unleavened, 202-205.
—— Wafer, 203, 204, 206.

Callixtines. *See* Utraquists.
Collection of Alms, 18.
Concomitance, 125, 143, 174, 214-220.
Confirmation, Relation of, to Communion, 241.

Eastward Position, 263.
Elements, 201-221.
Eleusinian Mysteries. *See* Mysteries.
Elevation, 263-265.
Emmaus, the meal at, 15, 16.
English Church, 89-92, 95, 96, 133-185, 197-200, 203, 204, 210, 211, 220, 227-229, 231, 237-239, 241-243, 245, 246, 248-250, 252-254, 257, 258, 260, 261-263, 265-267, 269, 272-274.
Epiklesis. *See* Holy Ghost, Invocation of.
Eulogiæ, 251.

Fast before Communion, 247-250, 296, 297, 304.
Fathers, Eucharistic Doctrine taught by, 36-70.
Folklore, 1-4.
Food, Idea of Communion with God by means of, 1, 2, 5, 6.
Form, 221-230.
Frequency of celebration, 233-239.
Frequency of Communion, 241-244.

Greek Church, 193, 214, 224, 227, 237, 244, 248, 251, 256, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 268, 270, 272, 301, 302.

Holy Ghost, Invocation of, 221, 230.
Hour of celebrating, 239, 240.

Incarnation, 6-8, 281.
Incense, 267-269.
Infants, Communion of, 190-200, 303, 304.
Institution of Eucharist, 13, 14.

Kiddûsh, 13, 201, 291.
Kiss of peace, 17, 18, 270, 271.

Leaven. *See* Bread.
Lights, 265-267.

Liturgies, Eastern, 256.
—— Western, 256, 257.
—— Roman, 256.
—— Non-Roman, 256, 257.
—— Ambrosian, 257.
—— Gallican, 257.
—— Mozarabic, 257.
Love Feast. *See* Agape.

Matter, 201-221.
Melchizedek, 10, 32, 60, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 128, 226.
Mexicans, 2.
Milan, Church of, 205, 256, 257.
Mixed Chalice, 207-211.
Mysteries, Eleusinian, 3, 4.

Names of Eucharist, 278, 279.
Non-communicating attendance, 241-244.

Old Testament, Anticipation of Eucharist in, 5, 6, 10, 11.
One kind, Communion in, 213-221.
Oxford Movement, 183-185, 239, 243, 249, 273.

Pantheism, 4.
Passover, 13, 201.
Position of Celebrant, 263.
Prayer addressed to the Father, 273, 274.
Presence of Christ in Eucharist, 28, 29, 35, 36-57, 71-96, 117-187, 281-286.
Procession of the Host, 252.

Reception of Communion, Method of, 244, 245, 250, 251.
Reservation, 250-255.
Roman Catholic Church, 79-96, 104-116, 123-132, 186, 187, 195-197, 206, 211-219, 225-227, 236, 237, 241-246, 248, 250, 252, 256-259, 261-266, 269, 270, 272, 274, 276.
Russian Church, 193-195, 214, 224, 227, 237, 244, 248, 251, 256, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 268, 270, 272, 302, 303.

Sacrifice in general, 1-9, 22.
—— Eucharistic, 29-35, 58-70, 97-187, 273-279, 281, 286.
Schoolmen, Eucharistic Doctrine of, 83-92, 104-106, 109-116.
Symbolical Communion, 94.

Transubstantiation, 46, 79-96, 117-187.

Utraquists, 215.

Vestments, 271-273.

Water, 'consecration' in, 202, 211, 212.
Water mixed with Wine. *See* Mixed Chalice.
Wine. *See* Matter.

INDEX OF PASSAGES IN HOLY SCRIPTURE REFERRED TO

I. OLD TESTAMENT

	PAGE
Genesis xiv. 18,	10
Exodus xii.,	10, 19
xxiv. 1-11,	10
5-8,	30
xxix. 12,	30
39,	30
43-46,	6
xxx. 34, 35,	59
Leviticus iii. 11, 16,	6
iv. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34,	30
vii. 15-21,	6
viii. 15,	30
ix. 7,	30
9,	30
xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22,	6
xxii. 25,	6
xxiv. 7,	30
Numbers x. 10,	30
xxviii. 2,	6
2 Kings xvi. 15,	30
Psalms xxxviii. 1,	30
lxvi. 15,	30
lxx. 1,	30
Proverbs ix. 1-5,	11
Isaiah xxv. 6,	11
Ezekiel xli. 22,	6
xlvi. 16,	6
Zechariah vi. 13,	34
Malachi i. 7, 12,	6

II. DEUTERO-CANONICAL BOOKS

	PAGE
Wisdom xvi. 6,	30
Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 19-21,	11

III. NEW TESTAMENT

S. Matthew viii. 11,	12
xiv. 19,	15
xv. 36,	15
xxii. 1-14,	12
xxv. 1-13,	12
xxvi. 5,	290
17-19,	289
20,	19
26,	28
26-29,	14, 201
28,	28, 30
47,	290
51,	290
xxvii. 62,	290
S. Mark xiv. 2,	290
12-16,	289
17,	19
22,	28
22-25,	14, 201
24,	28, 30
43,	290
47,	290
xv. 21,	290
42, 46,	290

	PAGE
S. Mark xvi. 1,	290
S. Luke xiv. 15-24,	12
xxii. 7-16,	289
14,	19
17-20,	14, 201
19,	19, 28, 29
20,	28, 30
30,	12
50,	290
52,	290
xxiii. 26,	290
54,	290
56,	290
xxiv. 30,	15
31,	15
35,	15
S. John i. 29,	34
iii. 3, 5,	27, 189
iv. 10-14,	12
vi. 27,	27, 28
32,	27, 28
33,	27, 28
35,	27, 28
48,	27, 28
48-58,	12, 13
51,	27, 28
53-57,	27, 28, 188, 189
vii. 37-39,	12
xiii. 1,	289
29,	289
xv. 5,	24, 27
xviii. 28,	289
xix. 14,	289
Acts ii. 42,	17
46,	17, 18
xiv. 16,	20
17,	20
xvii. 26-28,	21
xx. 7,	17, 18
8,	18, 265
11,	17, 19
xxvii. 35,	17
Romans i. 19,	20
20,	20
iii. 25,	25

	PAGE
Romans vi. 3,	26
3-5,	8
xv. 16,	25
xvi. 16,	17, 270
1 Corinthians i. 21,	20
x. 16,	8, 29
17,	8
16-21,	17
17-34,	271
20, 21,	18, 19, 247
23,	17
23-26,	13, 14, 201
23-29,	17
24,	19, 28, 29
25,	19, 28, 29
26,	30
27,	29
27-32,	19
34,	247
xii. 12,	24, 26
13,	8, 24, 26
27,	8, 24
xvi. 1, 2,	18
20,	17, 270
2 Corinthians iv. 6, 7,	278
xiii. 12,	17, 270
Galatians ii. 19,	24
20,	7, 24
iii. 27,	8, 26
iv. 4,	20
Ephesians ii. 18,	7, 24
v. 26,	26
30,	26
Colossians iii. 1, 3,	24
1 Thessalonians v. 26,	17, 270
Hebrews i. 1,	7
ii. 17,	32
vi. 20,	32
vii. 24,	32
viii. 1-3,	32
ix. 23-26,	32
26,	32
x. 10,	32
12,	24
xii. 22-24,	32, 33

	PAGE
Hebrews xiii. 10,	31, 291
12,	32
12-16,	24, 31, 33
1 S. Peter i. 18, 19,	25
ii. 5, 9,	25
24,	25
v. 14,	17, 270
2 S. Peter i. 4,	7, 24
2 S. Peter ii. 13,	18, 271
S. Jude 12,	18, 271
Revelation i. 12,	266
iv. 5,	266
v. 6,	33, 34
8,	267
8-14,	33
viii. 3, 4,	267

INDEX OF AUTHORS, COUNCILS, AND BOOKS REFERRED TO

Abercius, Bishop of Hierapolis, century ii., 207, 208.
Albert the Great, Bishop of Ratisbon, century xiii., 115.
Alexander of Hales, century xiii., 110.
Algerus of Liége, centuries xi., xii., 106, 107.
Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, century iv., 43, 48, 53, 55, 61, 63, 67, 232, 279, 291.
Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, centuries xvi., xvii., 173, 174.
Apostolic Constitutions, 191, 221, 222, 274, 275.
Aquinas. *See* Thomas.
Articles:—
Draft Forty-five, 149, 298-300.
Eleven, 155, 156.
Forty-two, 149-151.
Irish, of 1615, 179.
Six, 139, 140.
Ten, 136, 137.
Thirteen, 138.
Thirty-nine, 156-159, 253, 254, 265.
Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, centuries xiv., xv., 95, 96.
Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, century iv., 21, 42, 61, 63.
Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, centuries vi., vii., 257.
—— Bishop of Hippo, centuries iv., v., 3, 43, 50, 55, 61, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70, 94, 192, 193, 234, 235, 241, 247, 248, 275.

Becon, Thomas, century xvi., 152.
Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xix., 209, 210, 211, 212, 263, 267.
Berengar, century xi., 79-81.
Bernardakis, D. N., century xix., 302.
Berno of Richenau, centuries x., xi., 261.
Bethune-Baker, J. F., centuries xix., xx., 262.
Bigg, C., centuries xix., xx., 51.
Bingham, J., centuries xvii., xviii., 197, 198.
Birkbeck, W. J., centuries xix., xx., 195.
Bona, Cardinal, century xvii., 212, 213, 214, 264.
Box, G. H., centuries xix., xx., 291.
Brightman, F. E., centuries xix., xx., 52, 64, 68, 70, 97, 101, 204, 207, 208, 211, 223, 247, 256, 259, 260, 264, 268, 269, 270, 274.
Browning, R., century xix., 5.
Bucer, M., century xvi., 121, 123.

Cabasilas. *See* Nicolas.
Cajetan, Cardinal, century xvi., 114, 116.
Calvin, J., century xvi., 121, 122, 123.

Carson, W. R., centuries xix., xx., 187.
Cassander, George, century xvi., 113.
Catechisms:—
Church of England, 168-170.
Council of Trent, 131, 132, 195, 196, 202, 217, 218.
Luther, 118.
Russian Church, 185, 303.
Westminster Assembly, 180.
Catherinus, century xvi., 115, 116.
Chowlson, centuries xix., xx., 290.
Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, centuries iv., v., 43, 48, 55, 56, 61, 64, 67, 69, 205, 206, 213, 234, 244, 250, 292.
Church Quarterly Review, 92, 161, 162, 174, 183, 186, 303.
Clement of Alexandria, centuries ii., iii., 21, 42, 49, 51, 58, 59, 242.
—— of Rome, century i., 60.
—— vi., Pope, centuries xiii., xiv., 217, 218.
Cobham, Lord. *See* Oldcastle.
Collier, J., centuries xvii., xviii., 136, 137.
Confessions of Doctrine:—
Augsburg, 119, 294, 295.
Orthodox, 185, 227, 301, 302.
Saxon, 119, 120, 295, 296.
Cornelius a Lapide, century xvii., 32.
Cosin, Bishop of Durham, century xvii., 177, 178.
Cosin, Notes ascribed to, 174, 175.
Councils:—
Arles (A.D. 314), 232.
Basle (A.D. 1431-1443), 212, 215.
Constance (A.D. 1414-1418), 96, 215.
Exeter (A.D. 1287), 214, 215.
Florence (A.D. 1438-1443), 76, 104.
Fourth Lateran (A.D. 1215), 84, 85, 87, 293.
Jerusalem (A.D. 1672), 185, 302.
London (A.D. 1382), 95.
Nicæa (A.D. 325), 42, 61, 232.
—— (A.D. 787), 268.
Paris (A.D. 1198), 265.
Toledo (A.D. 400), 234.
—— (A.D. 587), 261.
—— (A.D. 694), 277.
Trent (A.D. 1545-1563), 123-132, 195, 196, 209, 212, 216, 217, 243.
in Trullo (A.D. 692), 209, 231, 304.
Crakanthorp, R., centuries xvi., xvii., 176, 177, 179.
Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xvi., 141, 142, 148, 149, 297, 298.
Cyprian, century iii., 42, 60, 61, 63, 190, 191, 207, 208 213, 233, 235, 239, 240, 241, 250.
Cyril of Alexandria, century v., 31, 43, 48, 53.
—— of Jerusalem, century iv., 43, 52, 54, 55, 250, 264, 292.

Damian. *See* Peter Damian.
Deacon, Thomas, Nonjuring Bishop, century xviii., 200.
Declaration on Kneeling, 146, 147, 171.
De Gray, Archbishop of York, century xiii., 270.
De Lugo, Cardinal, century xvii., 217, 218, 219, 226.
De Sacramentis, 47, 48, 209.
Didache. See Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.
Directory for the Public Worship of God, 180.
Douglas, Bishop of Aberdeen, centuries xix., xx., 255.
Duchesne, L., centuries xix., xx., 53, 234, 236.
Duns Scotus, centuries xiii., xiv., 111, 112.

Durandus of S. Pourçain, centuries xiii., xiv., 88, 89.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, centuries iv., v., 205.
Erigena. *See* Scotus Erigena.
Euthymius Zigabenus, centuries xi., xii., 74, 75, 99-101, 108.

Fasciculi Zizaniorum, 92, 96.
Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, century xvi., 134.
Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, century xix., 219.
—— Bishop of Edinburgh, century xvii., 174, 178, 179.
Frankland, W. B., centuries xix., xx., 16.
Franzelin, Cardinal, century xix., 46, 85.
Frazer, J. G., centuries xix., xx., 2, 3.
Freeman, Archdeacon of Exeter, century xix., 264.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, century xvi., 151, 152.
Gardner, Alice, centuries xix., xx., 79.
—— P., centuries xix., xx., 16.
Gelasius i., Pope, century v., 47.
Gibson, E. C. S., centuries xix., xx., 160.
Gilpin, Bernard, century xvi., 160, 161.
Gore, Bishop of Worcester, centuries xix., xx., 30, 32, 51, 78, 79, 242, 262, 293.
Gray. *See* De Gray.
Gregory i., Pope, centuries vi., vii., 43, 62, 64, 65, 68, 69, 205, 257, 258.
—— vii., Pope, century xi., 80.
—— of Nazianzus, century iv., 263.
—— of Nyssa, century iv., 48, 50, 292.
Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xvi., 161, 162.
Guest, Bishop of Rochester, century xvi., 158.

Hamilton, Archbishop of S. Andrews, century xvi., 141.
Harding, J., century xvi., 161.
Harnack, A., centuries xix., xx., 50, 90, 202, 293.
Harrison, J., century xix., 43.
Hastings, J., centuries xix., xx., 6, 16, 202, 290.
Hatch, E., century xix., 3, 4.
Headlam, A. C., centuries xix., xx., 202.
Henry viii., King of England, century xvi., 132, 133.
Herbert, G., century xvii., 237, 238.
Heygate, W. E., century xix., 6.
Hildebert, Bishop of Tours, century xii., 82, 106, 293.
Hildebrand. *See* Gregory vii.
Hippolytus, Canons of, century ii. or iii., 42, 230, 234, 235, 246, 250, 304.
Hoadley, Bishop of Winchester, century xviii., 182.
Homilies of the Church of England, 159, 160.
Hooker, R., century xvi., 29, 163-167, 204.
Humbert, Cardinal, century xi., 80.
Hus, J., centuries xiv., xv., 93.

Ignatius, centuries i., ii., 38, 39, 60, 62, 63, 65, 212.
Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, 204, 206.
Innocent i., Pope, century v., 234.
—— iii., Pope, centuries xii., xiii., 84, 85, 87.
—— viii., Pope, century xv., 212.
Institution of a Christian Man, 137.

Irenæus, century ii., 40, 41, 46, 60, 66, 207, 251.
Ivo of Chartres, centuries xi., xii., 106.

Jerome, centuries iv., v., 213, 234, 266.
Jerome of Prague, centuries xiv., xv., 93, 96.
Jevons, F. B., centuries xix., xx., 2, 8, 9.
Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, century xvi., 161, 162.
John of Damascus, century viii., 70-73, 77, 97, 98.
—— of Paris, centuries xiii., xiv., 88.
—— of Ragusa, centuries xiv., xv., 212.
—— the Scot. *See* Scotus Erigena.
Johnson, J., century xvii., 180.
Justin Martyr, century ii., 39, 60, 207, 212, 213, 230, 233, 250.

Keating, J. F., centuries xix., xx., 271.
Keble, J., century xix., 164, 166.
Khomiakoff, A., century xix., 194, 195.
Kidd, B. J., centuries xix., xx., 115.
Kyriakos, A. D., centuries xix., xx., 302.

Lambert, J. C., centuries xix., xx., 290, 291.
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xi., 79, 81.
Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xvii., 174.
Leo i., Pope, century v., 31, 43, 62, 236.
—— xiii., Pope, centuries xix., xx., 241, 243, 244.
Liber Pontificalis, 205.
Lightfoot, J., century xvii., 19.
Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, century xix., 60, 208.
Liturgies:—
S. Basil, 70.
S. Chrysostom, 101.
S. James, 51, 64, 68, 97.
S. Mark, 51, 52.
Lombard. *See* Peter Lombard.
Lugo. *See* De Lugo.
Luther, M., century xvi., 116-119, 122, 294.

Maclagan, Archbishop of York, centuries xix., xx., 270.
Mai, Cardinal, century xix., 293.
Manning, Cardinal, century xix., 187.
Melchior Canus, century xvi., 113, 114, 116, 277.
Metrophanes Critopulus, century xvii., 193.
Milman, H. H., century xix., 262.
Missals:—
Ambrosian, 209.
Roman, 209, 211, 225, 226, 274.
Sarum, 259.
Morton, T., centuries xvi., xvii., 177, 179.
Moschakis, I., centuries xix., xx., 302.

Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, 140, 141, 248, 296, 297.
Nektarios, centuries xix., xx., 302.
Newman, Cardinal, century xix., 21, 22, 187, 286.
Nicolas Cabasilas, century xiv., 76, 102-104, 227.
—— of Methone, century xii., 75, 76, 101, 102.

Occam. *See* William of Occam.
Odo of Cambrai, century xii., 106.
Oldcastle, Sir John, centuries xiv., xv., 92, 95.

Order of Communion (A.D. 1548), 143, 144, 220, 221, 245, 246.
Origen, century iii., 42, 51, 54, 61, 66, 67.
Overall, Bishop of Norwich, centuries xvi., xvii., 170, 300, 301.
Overton, J. H., centuries xix., xx., 200.
Oxford, Declaration of University of (A.D. 1381), 94, 95.

Paget, Bishop of Oxford, centuries xix., xx., 166.
Paget, Memoirs and Letters of Sir James, 5.
Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xvi., 204.
Paschal II., Pope, centuries xi., xii., 303.
Paschasius Radbert, century ix., 77, 78, 106, 108.
Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, century xiii., 214.
Pellicia, A. A., century xviii., 303.
Peregrinatio Silviæ, century iv., 234, 266, 267, 268, 279.
Peter Damian, century xi., 293.
—— Lombard, century xii., 83, 105, 106, 108, 109, 112.
—— Mogila, century xvii., 301, 302.
Plato, centuries v., iv., B.C., 4.
Plummer, A., centuries xix., xx., 6, 16.
Prayer Books:—
A.D. 1549, 144, 145, 148, 152, 203, 206, 210, 227, 228, 237, 245, 246, 252, 253, 261.
A.D. 1552, 145-147, 148, 203, 206, 210, 228, 245, 246, 253, 265, 272.
A.D. 1559, 154, 155, 206, 246, 272, 273.
A.D. 1560 (Latin), 253, 254, 265, 266, 267, 272.
A.D. 1662, 170-173, 203, 206, 229, 253, 273.
Pullan, L., centuries xix., xx., 94, 171, 250, 256, 260.
Puller, F. W., centuries xix., xx., 240, 304.
Pulleyn, R., century xii., 214.
Pusey, E. B., century xix., 43, 44, 45, 85, 292, 293.

Rabanus Maurus, century ix., 78.
Rashdall, H., centuries xix., xx., 82, 83, 87.
Ratramn, century ix., 78.
Reynolds, Sir. J. Russell, century xix., 5.
Rupert of Deutz, century xii., 87.

Sacramentary, Gelasian, 195, 303.
Sacramentary, Gregorian, 195, 303.
Sanday, W., centuries xix., xx., 16, 202, 290.
Sandys, Archbishop of York, century xvi., 161, 162.
Saravia, A., centuries xvi., xvii., 161.
Scotus. *See* Duns Scotus.
—— Erigena, century ix., 79.
Serapion of Thmuis, century iv., 52, 61, 63, 223, 224.
Silvia. *See* Peregrinatio Silviæ.
Socrates, century v., 234, 242, 271.
Sophocles, century v., B.C., 3.
Soterichus Panteugenus, century xii., 101.
Srawley, J. H., centuries xix., xx., 293.
Stephen of Autun, century xii., 293.
Stone, D., centuries xix., xx., 6, 27, 47, 111, 184, 195, 269.
Suarez, F., centuries xvi., xvii., 116.

Taylor, J., century xvii., 178, 249.
Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, century i. or ii., 59, 60, 232.
Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, centuries xix., xx., 270.

Tennyson, Lord, century xix., 92.
Tertullian, centuries ii., iii., 42, 49, 50, 54, 66, 213, 231, 233, 235, 239, 250.
Testament of our Lord, 191, 192, 223, 234, 250, 304.
Theodoret, centuries iv., v., 46, 47, 56.
Theophylact, centuries xi., xii., 32, 73, 74, 98, 99.
Thomas Aquinas, century xiii., 31, 85-87, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, 115, 189, 214, 219, 286-288.
Thorndike, H., century xvii., 175, 176, 179.

Vacant, J. M. A., centuries xix., xx., 110, 115.
Vasquez, J., century xvi., 116, 218, 219.
Victorinus Afer, century iv., 262.

Walafrid Strabo, centuries viii., ix., 261.
Wakeman, H. O., century xix., 146.
Warren, F. E., centuries xix., xx., 19.
Waterland, D., centuries xvii., xviii., 183.
Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, century xvi., 113.
Wessel, J., century xv., 93, 94.
Westcott, Bishop of Durham, century xix., 30.
Wilberforce, R. I., century xix., 188.
William of Occam, centuries xiii., xiv., 89, 90.
Willis, E. F., century xix., 11, 264.
Witmund, Archbishop of Aversa, century xi., 81, 82.
Wordsworth, J., Bishop of Salisbury, centuries xix., xx, 230.
Wright, A., centuries xix., xx., 16.
Wyclif, J., century xiv., 90-92.

Zwingli, U., century xvi., 120, 121, 123.

Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

The Oxford Library of Practical Theology

Edited by the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's; and the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

Price 5s. each volume.

RELIGION. By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. [*Fifth Impression.*

'*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology* makes a good beginning with Canon Newbolt's volume on religion. . . . The publishers have spared no pains in making the appearance of the volumes as attractive as possible. The binding, type, and general "get up" of the volume just issued leave nothing to be desired.'—*Guardian.*

HOLY BAPTISM. By the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford. [*Third Edition.*

'Few books on Baptism contain more thoughtful and useful instruction on the rite, and we give Mr. Stone's effort our highest approval. It might well be made a text-book for candidates for the diaconate, or at least in theological colleges. As a book for thoughtful laymen it is also certain to find a place.'—*Church Times.*

CONFIRMATION. By the Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. [*Third Impression.*

'To the parochial clergy this volume may be warmly commended. They will find it to be a storehouse of material for their instruction, and quite the best treatise that we have on the subject it treats. It is thoroughly practical, and gives exactly the kind of teaching that is wanted.'—*Guardian.*

THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By the Rev. Leighton Pullan, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford. [*Third Edition.*

'Mr. Pullan's book will no doubt have, as it deserves to have, a large number of readers, and they will gain a great deal from the perusal of it. It may be certainly recommended to the ordinary layman as by far the best book on the subject available.'—*Pilot.*

HOLY MATRIMONY. By the Rev. W. J. Knox Little, M.A., Canon of Worcester. [*Second Edition.*

'Canon Knox Little has given us a most exhaustive treatise on Holy Matrimony written in his best and happiest style, and giving ample proofs of wide research and deep study of the various aspects, and the essential characteristics of Christian marriage. . . . We would strongly advise the clergy to place this work upon their shelves as a book of reference, while it forms a complete manual of instruction to aid them in the preparation of addresses on the subject.'—*Church Bells.*

THE INCARNATION. By the Rev. H. V. S. Eck, M.A., Rector of Bethnal Green. [*Second Edition.*

'The teaching is sound, and the book may be placed with confidence in the hands of candidates for Orders or of intelligent and educated lay people who desire fuller instruction on the central doctrines of the Faith than can be provided in sermons.'—*Guardian.*

FOREIGN MISSIONS. By the Right Rev. E. T. Churton, D.D., formerly Bishop of Nassau.

'We welcome Bishop Churton's book as an authoritative exposition of the modern High Church view of Missions. It is good for us all to understand it, thereby we shall be saved alike from uninstructed admiration and indiscriminate denunciation.'—*Church Missionary Intelligencer.*

PRAYER. By the Rev. Arthur John Worlledge, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Truro. [*Second Edition.*

'We do not know of any book about prayer which is equally useful; and we anticipate that it will be a standard work for, at any rate, a considerable time.'—*Pilot.*

SUNDAY. By the Rev. W. B. Trevelyan, M.A., Vicar of St. Matthew's, Westminster. [*Second Edition.*

'An extremely useful contribution to a difficult and important subject, and we are confident it will rank high in the series to which it belongs.'—*Guardian.*

THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION. By the Rev. Leighton Pullan, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford.

'Mr. Pullan affirms that the critics of orthodox Christianity are now destroying one another's theories much more than they are destroying the Catholic Faith. However that may be, his book should render some assistance in determining what is and what is not "The Faith once delivered to the Saints." It is a worthy addition to the series to which it belongs.'—*Westminster Gazette.*

BOOKS OF DEVOTION. By the Rev. Charles Bodington, Canon and Precentor of Lichfield.

'Extremely valuable for its high tone, fidelity to Catholic standards, and powerful advocacy of reality in private devotion. To those who have never studied the subject, it should reveal a mine of devotional wealth, yet to be worked with profit to man and glory to God.'—*Church Times.*

HOLY ORDERS. By the Rev. A. R. Whitham, M.A., Principal of Culham College, Abingdon.

'For the educated layman who wishes to know what the Church is teaching about the ministry, and what the relation of the laity to it really is, this is the best book with which we have met. Youngmen who are considering whether they will seek ordination will find in it excellent statements on the position and work and responsibilities of the ordained.'—*Pilot.*

THE CHURCH CATECHISM THE CHRISTIAN'S MANUAL. By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's.

'We think the book should be in the possession of every teacher who can afford it, and in every Church Library for the benefit of those who cannot.'—*Reader and Layworker.*

THE HOLY COMMUNION. By the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL. By the Rev. Walter Howard Frere, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester. [*In preparation.*

THE BIBLE. By the Rev. Darwell Stone, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford. [*In preparation.*

OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By the Very Rev. Henry Wace, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. [*In preparation.*

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By the Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London. [*In preparation.*

THE HOLY TRINITY. By the Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D.D., late Bishop of Bombay. [*In preparation.*

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH. By the Rev. Arthur John Worledge, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Truro. [*In preparation.*

THE ATONEMENT. By the Rev. Leighton Pullan, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford. [*In preparation.*

CHURCH HISTORY. By the Rev. H. N. Bate, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. 2 vols. [*In preparation.*

CHURCH WORK. By the Rev. Bernard Reynolds, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's. [*In preparation.*

VISITATION OF THE SICK. By the Rev. E. F. Russell, M.A., of St. Alban's, Holborn. [*In preparation.*

Handbooks for the Clergy

EDITED BY THE

REV. ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, B.D.

VICAR OF ALLHALLOWS BARKING BY THE TOWER

Crown 8vo, price 2s. 6d. net each volume.

THE purpose of the writers of this Series is to present in a clear and attractive way the responsibilities and opportunities of the Clergy of to-day, and to offer such practical guidance, in regard both to aims and to methods, as experience may have shown to be valuable. It is hoped that the Series, while primarily intended for those who are already face to face with the duties and problems of the ministerial office, may be of interest and assistance also to others who are considering the question of entering into Holy Orders.

THIRD IMPRESSION.

THE PERSONAL LIFE OF THE CLERGY. By the EDITOR.

'It is a short book, but it covers a wide field. Every line of it tells, and it is excellent reading. Not the least valuable part of the book are the extremely apt and striking quotations from various writers of eminence, which are placed in the form of notes at the end of the chapters. It is emphatically a book for both clergy and laity to buy and study.'—*Church Times.*

'We are grateful for a little book which will be of service to many priests, young and old. We need more priests, and such a book may well increase their number by explaining the nature of the life to which a vocation to Holy Orders calls men; but we need still more that priests should realise the life to which they are called and pledged; and this they can hardly fail to do if they listen to Mr. Robinson's prudent and tender counsels.'—*Church Quarterly Review.*

SECOND EDITION.

PATRISTIC STUDY. By the Rev. H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

'The whole of the work which this little volume contains is most admirably done. Sufficient is told about the personal history of the Fathers to make the study of their writings profitable.'—*Church Quarterly Review.*

'This is an admirable little guide-book to wide study by one who well knows how to guide. It is sound and learned, and crammed full of information, yet pleasant in style and easy to understand.'—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

SECOND IMPRESSION.

THE MINISTRY OF CONVERSION. By the Rev. A. J. MASON, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Canon of Canterbury.

'It will be found most valuable and interesting.'—*Guardian.*

'Canon Mason has given a manual that should be carefully studied by all, whether clergy or laity, who have in any way to share in the "Ministry of Conversion" by preaching, by parochial organisation, or by personal influence.'—*Scottish Guardian.*

THIRD IMPRESSION.

FOREIGN MISSIONS. By the Right Rev. H. H. MONTGOMERY, D.D., formerly Bishop of Tasmania, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

'Bishop Montgomery's admirable little book. . . . Into a limited compass he has compressed the very kind of information which gives one an adequate impression of the spirit which pervades a religion, of what is its strength and weakness, what its relation to Christianity, what the side upon which it must be approached.' *Church Quarterly Review.*

THIRD IMPRESSION.

THE STUDY OF THE GOSPELS. By the Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster.

'Nothing could be more desirable than that the Anglican clergy should be equipped with knowledge of the kind to which this little volume will introduce them, and should regard the questions with which Biblical study abounds in the candid spirit, and with the breadth of view which they see here exemplified.'—*Spectator.*

'The little book on the Gospels, which the new Dean of Westminster has recently published, is one to be warmly commended alike to clergy and laity. Any intelligent person who takes the trouble to work through this little volume of 150 pages will be rewarded by gaining from it as clear a view of the synoptic problem as is possible without prolonged and independent study of the sources.'—*The Pilot.*

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGETIC. By the Very Rev. WILFORD L. ROBBINS, D.D., Dean of the General Theological Seminary, New York.

'We commend this handbook with confidence as a helpful guide to those clergy and teachers who have thoughtful doubters to deal with, and who wish to build safely if they build at all.'—*Church of Ireland Gazette.*

PASTORAL VISITATION. By the Rev. H. E. SAVAGE, M.A., Vicar of South Shields, and Hon. Canon of Durham.

'This is an excellent book.'—*Spectator.*

AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH. By the Very Rev. T. B. STRONG, D.D., Dean of Christ Church.

'This is a valuable and timely book, small in bulk, but weighty both in style and substance. . . . The Dean's essay is an admirable one, and is well calculated to clear men's minds in regard to questions of very far-reaching importance. Its calm tone, and its clear and penetrating thought, are alike characteristic of the author, and give a peculiar distinction to everything he writes.'—*Guardian.*

THE STUDY OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. By the Right Rev. W. E. COLLINS, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar.

'A book which displays the master of mind on every page, and has what many master-minds lack, a sober, practical, common-sense strain about it, which is hardly ever found in those who set out to instruct us in Church History, or Canon Law, or Catholic use.'—*Church Bells.*

CHURCH MUSIC. By A. MADELEY RICHARDSON, Mus. Doc., Organist of St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By the Rev. P. N. WAGGETT, M.A., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

LAY WORK AND THE OFFICE OF READER. By the Right Rev. HUYSHE YEATMAN-BIGGS, D.D., Lord Bishop of Southwark.

INTEMPERANCE. By the Rev. H. H. PEREIRA, M.A., Vicar of Croydon, and Hon. Canon of Canterbury. [*In preparation.*

SCHOOLS. By the Rev. W. FOXLEY NORRIS, M.A., Rector of Barnsley, and Hon. Canon of Wakefield. [*In preparation.*

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY

A Selection of Works

IN

THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED BY

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

London: 39 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

New York: 91 and 93 FIFTH AVENUE.

Bombay: 32 HORNBY ROAD.

Abbey and Overton.—THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By CHARLES J. ABBEY, M.A., Rector of Checkendon, Reading, and JOHN H. OVERTON, D.D., late Canon of Lincoln. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Adams.—SACRED ALLEGORIES. The Shadow of the Cross—The Distant Hills—The Old Man's Home—The King's Messengers. By the Rev. WILLIAM ADAMS, M.A. With Illustrations. *16mo. 3s. net.*

The four Allegories may be had separately, *16mo. 1s. each.*

Aids to the Inner Life.

Edited by the Venble. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Archdeacon of Cleveland, Canon of York, Rector of Kirby Misperton, and Rural Dean of Malton. *Five Vols. 32mo, cloth limp, 6d. each; or cloth extra, 1s. each.*

OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By THOMAS À KEMPIS.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

THE DEVOUT LIFE. By ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

THE HIDDEN LIFE OF THE SOUL. By JEAN NICOLAS GROU.

THE SPIRITUAL COMBAT. By LAURENCE SCUPOLI.

Baily-Browne.—Works by A. B. BAILY-BROWN.

A HELP TO THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS, consisting of Brief Notes from The Fathers, gathered from Neale and Littledale's Commentary. With Preface by the Rev. GEORGE BODY, D.D., Canon of Durham. *Crown 8vo. 1s. net.*

THE SONGS OF DEGREES; or, Gradual Psalms. Interleaved with Notes from Neale and Littledale's Commentary on the Psalms. *Crown 8vo. 1s. net.*

Bathe.—Works by the Rev. ANTHONY BATHE, M.A.

A LENT WITH JESUS. A Plain Guide for Churchmen. Containing Readings for Lent and Easter Week, and on the Holy Eucharist. *32mo*, 1*s.*; *or in paper cover*, 6*d.*

AN ADVENT WITH JESUS. *32mo*, 1*s.*, *or in paper cover*, 6*d.*

WHAT I SHOULD BELIEVE. A Simple Manual of Self-Instruction for Church People. *Small 8vo*, *limp*, 1*s.*; *cloth gilt*, 2*s.*

Benson.—Works by the Rev. R. M. BENSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

THE FOLLOWERS OF THE LAMB: a Series of Meditations, especially intended for Persons living under Religious Vows, and for Seasons of Retreat, etc. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE FINAL PASSOVER: A Series of Meditations upon the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Small 8vo.*

Vol. I.—THE REJECTION. 5*s.*
Vol. II.—THE UPPER CHAMBER.
Part I. 5*s.*
Part II. 5*s.*
Vol. III.—THE DIVINE EXODUS.
Parts I. and II. 5*s.* each.
Vol. IV.—THE LIFE BEYOND THE GRAVE. 5*s.*

THE MAGNIFICAT; a Series of Meditations upon the Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary. *Small 8vo.* 2*s.*

SPIRITUAL READINGS FOR EVERY DAY. 3 *vols. Small 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. each.*
I. ADVENT. II. CHRISTMAS. III. EPIPHANY.

BENEDICTUS DOMINUS: A Course of Meditations for Every Day of the Year. Vol. I.—ADVENT TO TRINITY. Vol. II.—TRINITY, SAINTS' DAYS, etc. *Small 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. each*; *or in One Volume*, 7*s.*

BIBLE TEACHINGS: The Discourse at Capernaum.—St. John vi. *Small 8vo.* 1*s.*; *or with Notes.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE WISDOM OF THE SON OF DAVID: An Exposition of the First Nine Chapters of the Book of Proverbs. *Small 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE MANUAL OF INTERCESSORY PRAYER. *Royal 32mo*; *cloth boards*, 1*s.* 3*d.*; *cloth limp*, 9*d.*

THE EVANGELIST LIBRARY CATECHISM. Part I. *Small 8vo.* 3*s.*

PAROCHIAL MISSIONS. *Small 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Bickersteth.—YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER: a Poem in Twelve Books. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Exeter. *18mo.* 1*s. net.* *With red borders*, *16mo*, 2*s. net.*

The Crown 8vo Edition (5*s.*) *may still be had.*

Blunt.—Works by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, D.D.

THE ANNOTATED BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER: Being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. *4to.* 21*s.*

THE COMPENDIOUS EDITION OF THE ANNOTATED BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER: Forming a concise Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. *Crown* 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

DICTIONARY OF DOCTRINAL AND HISTORICAL THEOLOGY. By various Writers. *Imperial* 8*vo.* 21*s.*

DICTIONARY OF SECTS, HERESIES, ECCLESIASTICAL PARTIES AND SCHOOLS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. By various Writers. *Imperial* 8*vo.* 21*s.*

THE BOOK OF CHURCH LAW. Being an Exposition of the Legal Rights and Duties of the Parochial Clergy and the Laity of the Church of England. Revised by the Right Hon. Sir WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, Bart., D.C.L., and G. EDWARDES JONES, Barrister-at-Law. *Crown* 8*vo.* 8*s. net.*

A COMPANION TO THE BIBLE: Being a Plain Commentary on Scripture History, to the end of the Apostolic Age. *Two Vols. small* 8*vo. Sold separately.* OLD TESTAMEMT. 3*s.* 6*d.* NEW TESTAMENT. 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOUSEHOLD THEOLOGY: a Handbook of Religious Information respecting the Holy Bible, the Prayer Book, the Church, etc., etc. 16*mo. Paper cover,* 1*s. Also the Larger Edition, Fcap.*8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Body.—Works by the Rev. GEORGE BODY, D.D., Canon of Durham.

THE LIFE OF LOVE. A Course of Lent Lectures. 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

THE SCHOOL OF CALVARY; or, Laws of Christian Life revealed from the Cross. 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

THE LIFE OF JUSTIFICATION. 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

THE LIFE OF TEMPTATION. 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED. *Small* 8*vo. sewed,* 6*d.* 32*mo. cloth,* 1*s.*

Book of Private Prayer, The. For use Twice Daily; together with the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. 18*mo. Limp cloth,* 2*s.*; *Cloth boards,* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Book of Prayer and Daily Texts for English Churchmen. 32*mo.* 1*s. net.*

Boultbee.—A COMMENTARY ON THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By the Rev. T. P. BOULTBEE. *Crown* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Brent.—THE CONSOLATIONS OF THE CROSS: Addresses on the Seven Words of the Dying Lord, given at St. Stephen's Church, Boston (U.S.), on Good Friday, 1902. Together with Two Sermons. By the Right Rev. G. H. BRENT, D.D., Bishop of the Philippine Islands. *Crown* 8*vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

Brett.—Works by the Rev. JESSE BRETT, L.Th., Chaplain of All Saints' Hospital, Eastbourne.

ANIMA CHRISTI: Devotional Addresses. *Crown* 8*vo.* 1*s. net.*

THE BLESSED LIFE: Devotional Studies of the Beatitudes. *Crown* 8*vo.* 2*s. net.*

THE WITNESS OF LOVE: Some Mysteries of the Divine Love revealed in the Passion of our Holy Redeemer. *Fcap.* 8*vo.* 2*s. net.*

Bright.—Works by WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., late Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford.

THE AGE OF THE FATHERS. Being Chapters in the History of the Church during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. *Two Vols.* 8*vo.* 28*s. net.*

LESSONS FROM THE LIVES OF THREE GREAT FATHERS. St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine. *Crown* 8*vo.* 6*s.*

Bright and Medd.—LIBER PRECUM PUBLICARUM ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ. A GULIELMO BRIGHT, S.T.P., et PETRO GOLDSMITH MEDD, A.M., Latine redditus. *Small* 8*vo.* 5*s. net.*

Browne.—AN EXPOSITION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, Historical and Doctrinal. By E. H. BROWNE, D.D., sometime Bishop of Winchester. 8*vo.* 16*s.*

Bruce.—THE COMMON HOPE. Firstfruits of Ministerial Experience in Thought and Life. Edited by the Rev. ROSSLYN BRUCE, M.A., St. Anne's, Soho; with an Introduction by the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF STEPNEY. *Crown* 8*vo.* 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

Campion and Beamont.—THE PRAYER BOOK INTERLEAVED. With Historical Illustrations and Explanatory Notes arranged parallel to the Text. By W. M. CAMPION, D.D., and W. J. BEAMONT, M.A. *Small* 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Carter.—LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS THELLUSSON CARTER, Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Edited by the Ven. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Archdeacon of Cleveland. With 3 Portraits and 8 other Illustrations. 8*vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Carter.—Works by, and edited by, the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A.

SPIRITUAL INSTRUCTIONS. *Crown 8vo.*

THE HOLY EUCHARIST. 3*s.* 6*d.*
THE DIVINE DISPENSATIONS. 3*s.* 6*d.*
THE LIFE OF GRACE. 3*s.* 6*d.*
OUR LORD'S EARLY LIFE. 3*s.* 6*d.*
OUR LORD'S ENTRANCE ON HIS MINISTRY. 3*s.* 6*d.*
THE RELIGIOUS LIFE. 3*s.* 6*d.*

A BOOK OF PRIVATE PRAYER FOR MORNING, MID-DAY, AND OTHER TIMES. 18*mo*, *limp cloth*, 1*s.* ; *cloth*, *red edges*, 1*s.* 3*d.*

THE DOCTRINE OF CONFESSION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.*

THE SPIRIT OF WATCHFULNESS AND OTHER SERMONS. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.*

THE TREASURY OF DEVOTION : a Manual of Prayer for General and Daily Use. Compiled by a Priest.
18*mo.* 2*s.* 6*d.* ; *cloth limp*, 2*s.* Bound with the Book of Common Prayer, 3*s.* 6*d.* Red-Line Edition. *Cloth extra*, *gilt top.* 18*mo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.* Large-Type Edition. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE WAY OF LIFE : A Book of Prayers and Instruction for the Young at School, with a Preparation for Confirmation. 18*mo.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE PATH OF HOLINESS : a First Book of Prayers, with the Service of the Holy Communion, for the Young. Compiled by a Priest. With Illustrations. 16*mo.* 1*s.* 6*d.* ; *cloth limp*, 1*s.*

THE GUIDE TO HEAVEN : a Book of Prayers for every Want. (For the Working Classes.) Compiled by a Priest. 18*mo.* 1*s.* 6*d.* ; *cloth limp*, 1*s.* *Large-Type Edition.* *Crown 8vo.* 1*s.* 6*d.* ; *cloth limp*, 1*s.*

THE STAR OF CHILDHOOD : a First Book of Prayers and Instruction for Children. Compiled by a Priest. With Illustrations. 16*mo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

SIMPLE LESSONS ; or, Words Easy to be Understood. A Manual of Teaching. I. On the Creed. II. The Ten Commandments. III. The Sacrament. 18*mo.* 3*s.*

MANUAL OF DEVOTION FOR SISTERS OF MERCY. 8 parts in 2 vols. 32mo. 10*s.* Or separately :—Part I. 1*s.* 6*d.* Part II. 1*s.* Part III. 1*s.* Part IV. 2*s.* Part V. 1*s.* Part VI. 1*s.* Part VII. Part VIII. 1*s.* 6*d.*

UNDERCURRENTS OF CHURCH LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.*

NICHOLAS FERRAR : his Household and his Friends. *Crown 8vo.* 6*s.*

Coles.—Works by the Rev. V. S. S. COLES, M.A., Principal of the Pusey House, Oxford.

LENTEN MEDITATIONS. 18*mo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

ADVENT MEDITATIONS ON ISAIAH I.-XII. : together with Outlines of Christmas Meditations on St. John i. 1-12. 18*mo.* 2*s.*

Company, The, of Heaven: Daily Links with the Household of God. Being Selections in Prose and Verse from various Authors. With Autotype Frontispiece. *Crown* 8*vo*. 2*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

Conybeare and Howson.—THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A., and the Very Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. With numerous Maps and Illustrations.

LIBRARY EDITION. *Two Vols*. 8*vo*. 21*s*. STUDENTS' EDITION. *One Vol*. *Crown* 8*vo*. 6*s*. POPULAR EDITION. *One Vol*. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Creighton.—Works by MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., late Lord Bishop of London.

A HISTORY OF THE PAPACY FROM THE GREAT SCHISM TO THE SACK OF ROME (1378-1527). *Six Volumes*. *Crown* 8*vo*. 5*s*. *each net*.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION: Charges and Addresses. *Crown* 8*vo*. 5*s*. *net*.

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION: Speeches and Sermons. *Crown* 8*vo*. 5*s*. *net*.

UNIVERSITY AND OTHER SERMONS. *Crown* 8*vo*. 5*s*. *net*.

THE MIND OF PETER, AND OTHER SERMONS. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

Day-Hours of the Church of England, The. Newly Revised according to the Prayer Book and the Authorised Translation of the Bible. *Crown* 8*vo*, *sewed*, 3*s*.; *cloth*, 3*s*. 6*d*.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE DAY-HOURS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, being the Service for certain Holy Days. *Crown* 8*vo*, *sewed*, 3*s*.; *cloth*, 3*s*. 6*d*.

Edersheim.—Works by ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A., D.D., Ph.D.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS THE MESSIAH. *Two Vols*. 8*vo*. 12*s*. *net*.

JESUS THE MESSIAH: being an Abridged Edition of 'The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.' *Crown* 8*vo*. 6*s*. *net*.

Ellicott.—Works by C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester.

A CRITICAL AND GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES. Greek Text, with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary, and a Revised English Translation. 8*vo*.

GALATIANS. 8*s*. 6*d*.
EPHESIANS. 8*s*. 6*d*.
PASTORAL EPISTLES. 10*s*. 6*d*.
PHILIPPIANS, COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON. 10*s*. 6*d*.
THESSALONIANS. 7*s*. 6*d*.

HISTORICAL LECTURES ON THE LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. 8*vo*. 12*s*.

Emery.—THE INNER LIFE OF THE SOUL. Short Spiritual Messages for the Ecclesiastical Year. By S. L. EMERY. *Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.*

English (The) Catholic's Vade Mecum: a Short Manual of General Devotion. Compiled by a PRIEST. *32mo. limp, 1s.; cloth, 2s.*
PRIEST'S Edition. *32mo. 1s. 6d.*

Epochs of Church History.—Edited by MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., late Lord Bishop of London. *Small 8vo. 2s. 6d. each.*

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN OTHER LANDS. By the Rev. H. W. TUCKER, M.A.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By the Rev. GEO. G. PERRY, M.A.

THE CHURCH OF THE EARLY FATHERS. By the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. J. H. OVERTON, D.D.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. By the Hon. G. C. BRODRICK, D.C.L.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. By J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By the Rev. W. HUNT, M.A.

THE CHURCH AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE. By the Rev. H. F. TOZER, M.A.

THE CHURCH AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By the Rev. A. CARR, M.A.

THE CHURCH AND THE PURITANS, 1570-1660. By HENRY OFFLEY WAKEMAN, M.A.

HILDEBRAND AND HIS TIMES. By the Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D.

THE POPES AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN. By UGO BALZANI.

THE COUNTER REFORMATION. By ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, Litt.D.

WYCLIFFE AND MOVEMENTS FOR REFORM. By REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A.

THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY. By the Rev. Professor H. M. GWATKIN, M.A.

Eucharistic Manual (The). Consisting of Instructions and Devotions for the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. From various sources. *32mo. cloth gilt, red edges. 1s. Cheap Edition, limp cloth. 9d.*

Farrar.—Works by FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., late Dean of Canterbury.

TEXTS EXPLAINED; or, Helps to Understand the New Testament. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*

THE BIBLE: Its Meaning and Supremacy. *8vo. 6s. net.*

ALLEGORIES. With 25 Illustrations by AMELIA BAUERLE. *Crown 8vo. gilt edges. 2s. 6d. net.*

Fosbery.—VOICES OF COMFORT. Edited by the Rev. THOMAS VINCENT FOSBERY, M.A., sometime Vicar of St. Giles's, Reading. *Cheap Edition. Small 8vo. 3s. net.*
The Larger Edition (7s. 6d.) may still be had.

Geikie.—Works by J. CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D.D., LL.D., late Vicar of St. Martin-at-Palace, Norwich.

THE VICAR AND HIS FRIENDS. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*

HOURS WITH THE BIBLE: the Scriptures in the Light of Modern Discovery and Knowledge. *Complete in Twelve Volumes. Crown 8vo.*

OLD TESTAMENT.

CREATION TO THE PATRIARCHS. *With a Map and Illustrations. 5s.*

MOSES TO JUDGES. *With a Map and Illustrations. 5s.*

SAMSON TO SOLOMON. *With a Map and Illustrations. 5s.*

REHOBOAM TO HEZEKIAH. *With Illustrations. 5s.*

MANASSEH TO ZEDEKIAH. With the Contemporary Prophets. *With a Map and Illustrations. 5s.*

EXILE TO MALACHI. With the Contemporary Prophets. *With Illustrations. 5s.*

NEW TESTAMENT.

THE GOSPELS. *With a Map and Illustrations. 5s.*

LIFE AND WORDS OF CHRIST. *With Map. 2 vols. 10s.*

LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. *With Maps and Illustrations. 2 vols. 10s.*

ST. PETER TO REVELATION. *With 29 Illustrations. 5s.*

LIFE AND WORDS OF CHRIST.
Cabinet Edition. With Map. 2 vols. Post 8vo. 10s.
Cheap Edition, without the Notes. 1 vol. 8vo. 6s.

A SHORT LIFE OF CHRIST. *With 34 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.; gilt edges, 4s. 6d.*

Gold Dust: a Collection of Golden Counsels for the Sanctification of Daily Life.

Translated and abridged from the French by E.L.E.E. Edited by CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. Parts I. II. III. Small Pocket Volumes. *Cloth, gilt, each 1s.*, or in white cloth, with red edges, the three parts in a box, *2s. 6d. each net.* Parts I. and II. in One Volume. *1s. 6d.* Parts I., II., and III. in One Volume. *2s. net.*

*** The two first parts in One Volume, *large type, 18mo. cloth, gilt. 2s. net.*

Gore.—Works by the Right Rev. CHARLES GORE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Worcester.

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY. *Crown 8vo. 6s. net.*

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS. *Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

Goreh.—THE LIFE OF FATHER GOREH. By C. E. GARDNER, S.S.J.E. With Portrait. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

Great Truths of the Christian Religion. Edited by the Rev. W. U. RICHARDS. *Small 8vo. 2s.*

Hall.—Works by the Right Rev. A. C. A. HALL, D.D., Bishop of Vermont.

CONFIRMATION. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.* (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

THE VIRGIN MOTHER: Retreat Addresses on the Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary as told in the Gospels. With an appended Essay on the Virgin Birth of our Lord. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

CHRIST'S TEMPTATION AND OURS. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hallowing of Sorrow. By E. R. With a Preface by H. S. HOLLAND, M.A., Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's. *Small 8vo.* 2*s.*

Handbooks for the Clergy. Edited by the Rev. ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, B.D., Vicar of Allhallows Barking by the Tower. *Crown 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net each Volume.*

THE PERSONAL LIFE OF THE CLERGY. By the Rev. ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, B.D., Vicar of Allhallows Barking by the Tower.

THE MINISTRY OF CONVERSION. By the Rev. A. J. MASON, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Canon of Canterbury.

PATRISTIC STUDY. By the Rev. H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

FOREIGN MISSIONS. By the Right Rev. H. H. MONTGOMERY, D.D., formerly Bishop of Tasmania, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

THE STUDY OF THE GOSPELS. By the Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster.

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGETIC. By the Very Rev. WILFORD L. ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of the General Theological Seminary, New York.

PASTORAL VISITATION. By the Rev. H. E. SAVAGE, M.A., Vicar of South Shields.

AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH. By the Very Rev. J. B. STRONG, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

THE STUDY OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. By the Right Rev. W. E. COLLINS, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar.

CHURCH MUSIC. By A. MADELEY RICHARDSON, Mus.Doc., Organist of St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark.

LAY WORK AND THE OFFICE OF READER. By the Right Rev. HUYSHE YEATMAN-BIGGS, D.D., Lord Bishop of Southwark.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE: some Suggestions for the Study of the Relations between them. By the Rev. P. N. WAGGETT, M.A. of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

*** *Other Volumes are in preparation.*

Hatch.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1880. By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D., late Reader in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. *8vo.* 5*s.*

Holland.—Works by the Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, M.A. Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's.

GOD'S CITY AND THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

PLEAS AND CLAIMS FOR CHRIST. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

CREED AND CHARACTER: Sermons. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

ON BEHALF OF BELIEF. Sermons. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

CHRIST OR ECCLESIASTES. Sermons. *Crown 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

LOGIC AND LIFE, with other Sermons. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

GOOD FRIDAY. Being Addresses on the Seven Last Words. *Small 8vo.* 2*s.*

Hollings.—Works by the Rev. G. S. HOLLINGS, Mission Priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford.

THE HEAVENLY STAIR; or, A Ladder of the Love of God for Sinners. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

PORTA REGALIS; or, Considerations on Prayer. *Crown 8vo. limp cloth,* 1*s.* 6*d. net*; *cloth boards,* 2*s. net.*

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE WISDOM OF GOD. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.*

PARADOXES OF THE LOVE OF GOD, especially as they are seen in the way of the Evangelical Counsels. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.*

ONE BORN OF THE SPIRIT; or, the Unification of our Life in God. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hutchings.—Works by the Ven. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A. Archdeacon of Cleveland, Canon of York, Rector of Kirby Misperton, and Rural Dean of Malton.

SERMON SKETCHES from some of the Sunday Lessons throughout the Church's Year. *Vols. I and II. Crown 8vo.* 5*s. each.*

THE LIFE OF PRAYER: a Course of Lectures delivered in All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, during Lent. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE PERSON AND WORK OF THE HOLY GHOST: a Doctrinal and Devotional Treatise. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CROSS. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE MYSTERY OF THE TEMPTATION. Lent Lectures delivered at St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Inheritance of the Saints; or, Thoughts on the Communion of Saints and the Life of the World to come. Collected chiefly from English Writers by L. P. With a Preface by the Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, M.A. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

ILLUSTRATED EDITION. With 8 Pictures in Colour by HAMEL LISTER. *Crown* 8*vo*. 6*s*. *net*.

James.—THE VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: A Study in Human Nature. Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion delivered at Edinburgh in 1901-1902. By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D., etc., Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. 8*vo*. 12*s*. *net*.

Jameson.—Works by Mrs. JAMESON.

SACRED AND LEGENDARY ART, containing Legends of the Angels and Archangels, the Evangelists, the Apostles. With 19 Etchings and 187 Woodcuts. 2 *vols*. 8*vo*. 20*s*. *net*.

LEGENDS OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS, as represented in the Fine Arts. With 11 Etchings and 88 Woodcuts. 8*vo*. 10*s*. *net*.

LEGENDS OF THE MADONNA, OR BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. With 27 Etchings and 165 Woodcuts. 8*vo*. 10*s*. *net*.

THE HISTORY OF OUR LORD, as exemplified in Works of Art. Commenced by the late Mrs. JAMESON; continued and completed by LADY EASTLAKE. With 31 Etchings and 281 Woodcuts. 2 *Vols*. 8*vo*. 20*s*. *net*.

Jones.—ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE: An Essay towards Reunion. By SPENCER JONES, M.A., Rector of Moreton-in-Marsh. With a Preface by the Right Hon. VISCOUNT HALIFAX. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*s*. *net*.

Jukes.—Works by ANDREW JUKES.

LETTERS OF ANDREW JUKES. Edited, with a Short Biography, by the Rev. HERBERT H. JEAFFERSON, M.A. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

THE NAMES OF GOD IN HOLY SCRIPTURE: a Revelation of His Nature and Relationships. *Crown* 8*vo*. 4*s*. 6*d*.

THE TYPES OF GENESIS. *Crown* 8*vo*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

THE SECOND DEATH AND THE RESTITUTION OF ALL THINGS. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Kelly.—Works by the Rev. HERBERT H. KELLY, M.A., Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission, Kelham, Newark.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST. Vol. I. A.D. 29-342. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*. *net*. Vol. II. A.D. 324-430. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH: Her Calling and its Fulfilment Considered in Relation to the Increase and Efficiency of Her Ministry. *Crown* 8*vo*. 4*s*. *net*.

Knox.—PASTORS AND TEACHERS: Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology. By the Right Rev. EDMUND ARBUTHNOTT KNOX, D.D., Bishop of Manchester. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. CHARLES GORE, D.D., Bishop of Worcester. *Crown* 8*vo*. 5*s. net.*

Knox Little.—Works by W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester, and Vicar of Hoar Cross.

HOLY MATRIMONY. *Crown* 8*vo*. 5*s*. (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

THE PERFECT LIFE: Sermons. *Crown* 8*vo*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

THE CHRISTIAN HOME. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE MYSTERY OF THE PASSION OF OUR MOST HOLY REDEEMER. *Crown* 8*vo*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

THE LIGHT OF LIFE. Sermons preached on Various Occasions. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

SUNLIGHT AND SHADOW IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Sermons preached for the most part in America. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Lear.—Works by, and Edited by, H. L. SIDNEY LEAR.

FOR DAYS AND YEARS. A book containing a Text, Short Reading, and Hymn for Every Day in the Church's Year. 16*mo*. 2*s. net*. *Also a Cheap Edition*, 32*mo*, 1*s*.; *or cloth gilt*, 1*s*. 6*d*.; *or with red borders*, 2*s. net.*

FIVE MINUTES. Daily Readings of Poetry. 16*mo*. 3*s*. 6*d*. *Also a Cheap Edition*, 32*mo*. 1*s*.; *or cloth gilt*, 1*s*. 6*d*.

WEARINESS. A Book for the Languid and Lonely. *Large Type. Small* 8*vo*. 5*s*.

DEVOTIONAL WORKS. Edited by H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. *New and Uniform Editions. Nine Vols.* 16*mo*. 2*s. net each.*

FÉNELON'S SPIRITUAL LETTERS TO MEN.

FÉNELON'S SPIRITUAL LETTERS TO WOMEN.

A SELECTION FROM THE SPIRITUAL LETTERS OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES. Also *Cheap Edition*, 32*mo*, 6*d. cloth limp*; 1*s. cloth boards.*

THE SPIRIT OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

THE HIDDEN LIFE OF THE SOUL.

THE LIGHT OF THE CONSCIENCE. Also *Cheap Edition*, 32*mo*, 6*d. cloth limp*; 1*s. cloth boards.*

SELF-RENUNCIATION. From the French.

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES' OF THE LOVE OF GOD.

SELECTIONS FROM PASCAL'S 'THOUGHTS.'

Lear. — Works by, and Edited by, H. L. SIDNEY LEAR.— *continued.*

CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHIES. Edited by H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.*

MADAME LOUISE DE FRANCE, Daughter of Louis XV., known also as the Mother Térèse de St. Augustin.

A DOMINICAN ARTIST: a Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Père Besson, of the Order of St. Dominic.

HENRI PERREYVE. By PÈRE GRATRY. With Portrait,

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, Bishop and Prince of Geneva.

A CHRISTIAN PAINTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: being the Life of Hippolyte Flandrin.

THE REVIVAL OF PRIESTLY LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN FRANCE.

BOSSUET AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

FÉNELON, ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAI.

HENRI DOMINIQUE LACORDAIRE.

Lenten Collects (The). A Series of Sermons. By the Author of 'Praeparatio.' *Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.*

Liddon.—Works by HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

SERMONS ON SOME WORDS OF ST. PAUL. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

SERMONS PREACHED ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS, 1860-1889. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

CLERICAL LIFE AND WORK: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES: Lectures on Buddhism—Lectures on the Life of St. Paul—Papers on Dante. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. *8vo. 14s.*

EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY. *8vo. 7s. 6d.*

SERMONS ON OLD TESTAMENT SUBJECTS. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

SERMONS ON SOME WORDS OF CHRIST. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1866. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

ADVENT IN ST. PAUL'S. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

CHRISTMASTIDE IN ST. PAUL'S. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

PASSIONTIDE SERMONS. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

[*continued.*

Liddon.—Works by HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.—*continued.*

EASTER IN ST. PAUL'S. Sermons bearing chiefly on the Resurrection of our Lord. *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each. Cheap Edition in one Volume. Crown 8vo. 5s.*

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each. Cheap Edition in one Volume. Crown 8vo. 5s.*

THE MAGNIFICAT. Sermons in St. Paul's. *Crown 8vo. 2s. net.*

SOME ELEMENTS OF RELIGION. Lent Lectures. *Small 8vo. 2s. net.* [*The Crown 8vo Edition* (5*s.*) *may still be had.*]

POPULAR EDITION. *Crown 8vo. Sewed. 6d. net.*

Luckock.—Works by HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D., Dean of Lichfield.

THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

AFTER DEATH. An Examination of the Testimony of Primitive Times respecting the State of the Faithful Dead, and their Relationship to the Living. *Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

THE INTERMEDIATE STATE BETWEEN DEATH AND JUDGMENT. Being a Sequel to *After Death. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

FOOTPRINTS OF THE SON OF MAN, as traced by St. Mark. Being Eighty Portions for Private Study, Family Reading, and Instruction in Church. *Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

FOOTPRINTS OF THE APOSTLES, as traced by St. Luke in the Acts. Being Sixty Portions for Private Study, and Instruction in Church. A Sequel to 'Footprints of the Son of Man, as traced by St. Mark.' *Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.*

THE DIVINE LITURGY. Being the Order for Holy Communion, Historically, Doctrinally, and Devotionally set forth, in Fifty Portions. *Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. The Anglican Reform—The Puritan Innovations—The Elizabethan Reaction—The Caroline Settlement. With Appendices. *Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

Lyra Germanica: Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year. *Complete Edition. Small 8vo. 5s.*
First Series. 16mo, with red borders, 2s. net.

MacColl.—Works by the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, D.D., Canon Residentiary of Ripon.

THE REFORMATION SETTLEMENT: Examined in the Light of History and Law. Tenth Edition, Revised, with a new Preface. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

CHRISTIANITY IN RELATION TO SCIENCE AND MORALS. *Crown 8vo. 6s.*

LIFE HERE AND HEREAFTER: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Marriage Addresses and Marriage Hymns. By the BISHOP OF LONDON, the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, the BISHOP OF TRURO, the DEAN OF ROCHESTER, the DEAN OF NORWICH, ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR, CANON DUCKWORTH, CANON NEWBOLT, CANON KNOX LITTLE, CANON RAWNSLEY, the Rev. J. LLEWELLYN DAVIES, D.D., the Rev. W. ALLEN WHITWORTH, etc. Edited by the Rev. O. P. WARDELL-YERBURGH, M.A., Vicar of the Abbey Church of St. Mary, Tewkesbury. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

Mason.—Works by A. J. MASON, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Canon of Canterbury.

THE MINISTRY OF CONVERSION. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.* (*Handbooks for the Clergy.*)

PURGATORY; THE STATE OF THE FAITHFUL DEAD; INVOCATION OF SAINTS. Three Lectures. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

THE FAITH OF THE GOSPEL. A Manual of Christian Doctrine *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. net.*

THE RELATION OF CONFIRMATION TO BAPTISM. As taught in Holy Scripture and the Fathers. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

Maturin.—Works by the Rev. B. W. MATURIN.

SOME PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. *Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

PRACTICAL STUDIES ON THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

Medd.—THE PRIEST TO THE ALTAR; or, Aids to the Devout Celebration of Holy Communion, chiefly after the Ancient English Use of Sarum. By PETER GOLDSMITH MEDD, M.A., Canon of St. Albans. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged. *Royal 8vo. 15s.*

Meyrick.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF England on the Holy Communion Restated as a Guide at the Present Time. By the Rev. F. MEYRICK, M.A. *Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.*

Monro.—SACRED ALLEGORIES. By Rev. EDWARD MONRO. *Complete Edition in one Volume, with Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Mortimer.—Works by the Rev. A. G. MORTIMER, D.D., Rector of St. Mark's, Philadelphia.

THE CREEDS: An Historical and Doctrinal Exposition of the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s. net.*

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE: An Historical and Theological Investigation of the Sacrificial Conception of the Holy Eucharist in the Christian Church. *Crown 8vo.* 10*s. 6d.*

CATHOLIC FAITH AND PRACTICE: A Manual of Theology. Two Parts. *Crown 8vo.* Part I. 7*s. 6d.* Part II. 9*s.*

JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION: Thirty Addresses for Good Friday and Easter. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.*

HELPS TO MEDITATION: Sketches for Every Day in the Year.

Vol. I. ADVENT TO TRINITY. *8vo.* 7*s. 6d.*

Vol. II. TRINITY TO ADVENT. *8vo.* 7*s. 6d.*

STORIES FROM GENESIS: Sermons for Children. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.*

THE LAWS OF HAPPINESS; or, The Beatitudes as teaching our Duty to God, Self, and our Neighbour. *18mo.* 2*s.*

THE LAWS OF PENITENCE: Addresses on the Words of our Lord from the Cross. *16mo.* 1*s. 6d.*

SERMONS IN MINIATURE FOR EXTEMPORE PREACHERS: Sketches for Every Sunday and Holy Day of the Christian Year. *Crown 8vo.* 6*s.*

NOTES ON THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS, chiefly from Patristic Sources. *Small 8vo.* 3*s. 6d.*

MEDITATIONS ON THE PASSION OF OUR MOST HOLY REDEEMER. Part I. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.*

THE SEVEN LAST WORDS OF OUR MOST HOLY REDEEMER: Being Meditations on some Scenes in His Passion (Meditations on the Passion. Part II.) *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.*

LEARN OF JESUS CHRIST TO DIE: Addresses on the Words of our Lord from the Cross, taken as teaching the way of Preparation for Death. *16mo.* 2*s.*

Mozley.—RULING IDEAS IN EARLY AGES AND THEIR RELATION TO OLD TESTAMENT FAITH. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. *8vo.* 6*s.*

Newbolt.—Works by the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral.

PRAYERS, PSALMS, AND LECTIONS FOR THE HOUSEHOLD. *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

APOSTLES OF THE LORD: being Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

THE CHURCH CATECHISM THE CHRISTIAN'S MANUAL. *Crown 8vo. 5s.* (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

RELIGION. *Crown 8vo. 5s.* (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

WORDS OF EXHORTATION. Sermons Preached at St. Paul's and elsewhere. *Crown 8vo. 5s. net.*

PENITENCE AND PEACE: being Addresses on the 51st and 23rd Psalms. *Crown 8vo. 2s. net.*

PRIESTLY IDEALS; being a Course of Practical Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

PRIESTLY BLEMISHES; being a Second Course of Practical Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

THE GOSPEL OF EXPERIENCE; or, the Witness of Human Life to the truth of Revelation. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

COUNSELS OF FAITH AND PRACTICE: being Sermons preached on various occasions. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

SPECULUM SACERDOTUM; or, the Divine Model of the Priestly Life. *Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT. Being Ten Addresses bearing on the Spiritual Life. *Crown 8vo. 2s. net.*

THE PRAYER BOOK: Its Voice and Teaching. *Crown 8vo. 2s. net.*

Newman.—Works by JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., sometime Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford.

LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN DURING HIS LIFE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH. With a brief Autobiography. Edited, at Cardinal Newman's request, by ANNE MOZLEY. *2 vols. Crown 8vo. 7s.*

PAROCHIAL AND PLAIN SERMONS. *Eight Vols. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. each.*

SELECTION, ADAPTED TO THE SEASONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR, from the 'Parochial and Plain Sermons.' *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

FIFTEEN SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

SERMONS BEARING UPON SUBJECTS OF THE DAY. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

LECTURES ON THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION. *Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

**** *A Complete List of Cardinal Newman's Works can be had on Application.*

Osborne.—Works by EDWARD OSBORNE, Mission Priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford.

THE CHILDREN'S SAVIOUR. Instructions to Children on the Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Illustrated.* 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

THE SAVIOUR KING. Instructions to Children on Old Testament Types and Illustrations of the Life of Christ. *Illustrated.* 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

THE CHILDREN'S FAITH. Instructions to Children on the Apostles' Creed. *Illustrated.* 16*mo.* 2*s. net.*

Ottley.—ASPECTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: being the Bampton Lectures for 1897. By ROBERT LAWRENCE OTTLEY, M.A., Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Oxford. 8*vo.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Oxford (The) Library of Practical Theology.—Edited by the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, and the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford. *Crown* 8*vo.* 5*s. each.*

RELIGION. By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's.

HOLY BAPTISM. By the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

CONFIRMATION. By the Right Rev. A. C. A. HALL, D.D., Bishop of Vermont.

THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's Oxford.

HOLY MATRIMONY. By the Rev. W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon of Worcester.

THE INCARNATION. By the Rev. H. V. S. ECK, M.A., St. Andrew's, Bethnal Green.

FOREIGN MISSIONS. By the Right Rev. E. T. CHURTON, D.D., formerly Bishop of Nassau.

PRAYER. By the Rev. ARTHUR JOHN WORLLEDGE, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Truro.

SUNDAY. By the Rev. W. B. TREVELYAN, M.A., Vicar of St. Matthew's, Westminster.

THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION. By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION. By the Rev. CHARLES BODINGTON, Canon and Precentor of Lichfield.

HOLY ORDERS. By the Rev. A. R. WHITHAM, M.A., Principal of Culham College, Abingdon.

THE CHURCH CATECHISM THE CHRISTIAN'S MANUAL. By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Joint Editor of the Series.

[*continued.*

Oxford (The) Library of Practical Theology.—*continued.*

THE HOLY COMMUNION. By the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Joint Editor of the Series.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL. By the Rev. WALTER HOWARD FRERE, M.A., Superior of the Community of the Resurrection, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester. [*In preparation.*

VISITATION OF THE SICK. By the Rev. E. F. RUSSELL, M.A., St. Alban's, Holborn. [*In preparation.*

CHURCH WORK. By the Rev. BERNARD REYNOLDS, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's. [*In preparation.*

OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By the Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. [*In preparation.*

NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM. By the Rev. R. J. KNOWLING, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at King's College, London. [*In preparation.*

Paget.—Works by FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Bishop of Oxford.

CHRIST THE WAY: Four Addresses given at a Meeting of Schoolmasters and others at Haileybury. *Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d. net.*

STUDIES IN THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER: Sermons. With an Introductory Essay. *Crown 8vo. 4s. net.*

THE SPIRIT OF DISCIPLINE: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 4s. net.*

FACULTIES AND DIFFICULTIES FOR BELIEF AND DISBELIEF. *Crown 8vo. 4s. net.*

THE HALLOWING OF WORK. Addresses given at Eton, January 16-18, 1888. *Small 8vo. 2s.*

THE REDEMPTION OF WAR: Sermons. *Crown 8vo. 2s. net.*

Passmore.—Works by the Rev. T. H. PASSMORE, M.A.

THE THINGS BEYOND THE TOMB IN A CATHOLIC LIGHT. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

LEISURABLE STUDIES. *Crown 8vo. 4s. net.*

CONTENTS.—The 'Religious Woman'—Preachments—Silly Ritual—The Tyranny of the Word—The Lectern—The Functions of Ceremonial—Homo Creator—Concerning the Pun—Proverbia.

Percival.—THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS. Treated Theologically and Historically. By HENRY R. PERCIVAL, M.A., D.D. *Crown 8vo. 5s.*

Powell.—CHORALIA: a Handy-Book for Parochial Precentors and Choirmasters. By the Rev. JAMES BADEN POWELL, M.A., Precentor of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. *Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.*

Practical Reflections. By a CLERGYMAN. With Preface by H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., and the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN. *Crown 8vo.*

THE BOOK OF GENESIS. 4s. 6d.
THE PSALMS. 5s.
ISAIAH. 4s. 6d.
THE MINOR PROPHETS. 4s. 6d.
THE HOLY GOSPELS. 4s. 6d.
ACTS TO REVELATION. 6s.

Praeparatio: or, Notes of Preparation for Holy Communion, founded on the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel. With Preface by the Rev. GEORGE CONGREVE, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley.

SUNDAYS. *Crown 8vo.* 6*s. net.*
HOLY DAYS AND SAINTS' DAYS. *Crown 8vo.* 6*s. net.*

Priest's Prayer Book (The). Containing Private Prayers and Intercessions; Occasional, School, and Parochial Offices; Offices for the Visitation of the Sick, with Notes, Readings, Collects, Hymns, Litanies, etc. With a brief Pontifical. By the late Rev. R. F. LITTLEDALE, LL.D., D.C.L., and Rev. J. EDWARD VAUX, M.A., F.S.A. *Post 8vo.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

Pullan.—THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By the Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of St. John Baptist's College, Oxford. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.* (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

Puller.—THE PRIMITIVE SAINTS AND THE SEE OF ROME. By F. W. PULLER, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. *8vo.* 16*s. net.*

Pusey.—Works by the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

PRIVATE PRAYERS. With Preface by H. P. LIDDON, D.D., late Chancellor and Canon of St. Paul's. *Royal 32mo.* 1*s.*

SPIRITUAL LETTERS OF EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, D.D. Edited by the Rev. J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, Cuddesdon; and the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s. net.*

Pusey.—THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF DR. PUSEY. By the Author of 'Charles Lowder.' With Frontispiece. *Crown 8vo.* 7*s.* 6*d. net.*

Randolph.—Works by B. W. RANDOLPH, D.D., Principal of the Theological College and Hon. Canon of Ely.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE PASSION: being Addresses given in St. Paul's Cathedral. *Small 8vo.* 2*s. net.*

THE LAW OF SINAI: Being Devotional Addresses on the Ten Commandments delivered to Ordinands. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

MEDITATIONS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT for Every Day in the Year. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s. net.*

MEDITATIONS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT for Every Day in the Year. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s. net.*

THE THRESHOLD OF THE SANCTUARY: being Short Chapters on the Inner Preparation for the Priesthood. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE VIRGIN BIRTH OF OUR LORD: a Paper read (in Substance) before the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity of Cambridge. *Crown 8vo.* 2*s. net.*

EMBER THOUGHTS: Addresses. *Crown 8vo.* 2*s. net.*

RIVINGTON'S DEVOTIONAL SERIES.

16mo, Red Borders and gilt edges. Each 2s. net.

BICKERSTETH'S YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER. *Gilt edges.*

CHILCOT'S TREATISE ON EVIL THOUGHTS. *Red edges.*

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. *Gilt edges.*

HERBERT'S POEMS AND PROVERBS. *Gilt edges.*

THOMAS À KEMPIS' OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. *Gilt edges.*

LEAR'S (H. L. SIDNEY) FOR DAYS AND YEARS. *Gilt edges.*

LYRA APOSTOLICA. POEMS BY J. W. BOWDEN, R. H. FROUDE, J. KEBLE, J. H. NEWMAN, R. I. WILBERFORCE, AND I. WILLIAMS; and a Preface by CARDINAL NEWMAN. *Gilt edges.*

FRANCIS DE SALES' (ST.) THE DEVOUT LIFE. *Gilt edges.*

WILSON'S THE LORD'S SUPPER. *Red edges.*

*TAYLOR'S (JEREMY) HOLY LIVING. *Red edges.*

*——— ——— HOLY DYING. *Red edges.*

SCUDAMORE'S STEPS TO THE ALTAR.. *Gilt edges*

LYRA GERMANICA: HYMNS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. *First Series. Gilt edges.*

LAW'S TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION. Edited by L. H. M. SOULSBY. *Gilt edges.*

CHRIST AND HIS CROSS: SELECTIONS FROM SAMUEL RUTHERFORD'S LETTERS. Edited by L. H. M. SOULSBY. *Gilt edges.*

* *These two in one Volume.* 5*s.*

18mo, without Red Borders. Each 1*s. net.*

BICKERSTETH'S YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

THOMAS À KEMPIS' OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST.

HERBERT'S POEMS AND PROVERBS.

SCUDAMORE'S STEPS TO THE ALTAR.

WILSON'S THE LORD'S SUPPER.

FRANCIS DE SALES' (ST.) THE DEVOUT LIFE.

*TAYLOR'S (JEREMY) HOLY LIVING.

*——— ——— HOLY DYING.

* *These two in one Volume.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

Robbins.—Works by WILFORD L. ROBBINS, D.D., Dean of the General Theological Seminary, New York.

AN ESSAY TOWARD FAITH. *Small 8vo.* 3*s. net.*

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGETIC. *Crown 8vo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.* (*Handbooks for the Clergy.*)

Robinson.—Works by the Rev. C. H. ROBINSON, M.A., Editorial Secretary to the S.P.G. and Canon of Ripon.

STUDIES IN THE CHARACTER OF CHRIST. *Crown 8vo.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

HUMAN NATURE A REVELATION OF THE DIVINE: a Sequel to 'Studies in the Character of Christ.' *Crown 8vo.* 6*s. net.*

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE INCARNATION. *Crown 8vo.* 1*s.* 6*d. net.*

Romanes.—THOUGHTS ON THE COLLECTS FOR THE TRINITY SEASON. By ETHEL ROMANES, Author of 'The Life and Letters of George John Romanes.' With a Preface by the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON. *18mo.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; *gilt edges.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Romanes.—THOUGHTS ON RELIGION By GEORGE J. ROMANES. Edited and with a Preface by the Right Rev. CHARLES GORE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Worcester. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.* 6*d.* POPULAR EDITION. *Crown 8vo, sewed,* 6*d. net.*

Sanday.—Works by W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

THE ORACLES OF GOD: Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration and the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. *Crown 8vo.* 4*s.*

DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF PRIESTHOOD AND SACRIFICE: a Report of a Conference held at Oxford, December 13 and 14, 1899. Edited by W. SANDAY, D.D. *8vo.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

INSPIRATION: Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1893. *8vo.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Sanders.—FÉNELON: HIS FRIENDS AND HIS ENEMIES, 1651-1715. By E. K. SANDERS. With Portrait. *8vo.* 10*s.* 6*d. net.*

Scudamore.—STEPS TO THE ALTAR: a Manual of Devotion for the Blessed Eucharist. By the Rev. W. E. SCUDAMORE, M.A. *Royal 32mo.* 1*s.*

On toned paper, and rubricated, 2*s.*: *The same, with Collects, Epistles, and Gospels,* 2*s.* 6*d.*; *18mo,* 1*s. net*; *Demy 18mo, cloth, large type,* 1*s.* 3*d.*; *16mo, with red borders,* 2*s. net*; *Imperial 32mo, limp cloth,* 6*d.*

Skrine.—PASTOR AGNORUM: a Schoolmaster's Afterthoughts. By JOHN HUNTLEY SKRINE, sometime Warden of Glenalmond. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s. net.*

Soulsby.—SUGGESTIONS ON PRAYER. By H. M. SOULSBY. *18mo, sewed,* 1*s. net.*; *cloth,* 1*s.* 6*d. net.*

Simple Guides to Christian Knowledge.—Edited by FLORENCE ROBINSON, formerly of St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford.

THE STORY OF OUR LORD'S LIFE. By Mrs. H. H. MONTGOMERY. With 8 Coloured Illustrations after GAUDENZIO FERRARI. *16mo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

THE EARLY STORY OF ISRAEL. By Mrs. J. S. THOMAS. With 7 Full-page Plates, 13 Illustrations in the Text, and 4 Maps (2 Coloured). *16mo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

THE TEACHING OF THE CATECHISM. By BEATRICE WARD. *16mo.* 2*s.* 6*d. net.*

*** *Other Volumes in preparation.*

Stone.—Works by the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford.

THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS. *8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

OUTLINES OF MEDITATIONS FOR USE IN RETREAT. *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

CHRIST AND HUMAN LIFE: Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral in January 1901; together with a Sermon on 'The Fatherhood of God.' *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

OUTLINES OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA. *Crown 8vo.* *7s. 6d.*

HOLY BAPTISM. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.* (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

THE HOLY COMMUNION. *Crown 8vo.* 5*s.* (*The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.*)

Strong.—Works by THOMAS B. STRONG, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS: being the Bampton Lectures for 1895. *8vo.* *7s. 6d.*

GOD AND THE INDIVIDUAL. *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH. *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.* (*Handbooks for the Clergy*).

Stubbs.—Works by the Right Rev. W. STUBBS, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Oxford. Edited by the Rev. E. E. HOLMES, formerly Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop; Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

ORDINATION ADDRESSES. With Photogravure Portrait. *Crown 8vo.* *3s. 6d. net.*

VISITATION CHARGES. Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Dioceses of Chester and Oxford. *8vo.* *7s. 6d. net.*

Waggett.—Works by the Rev. P. N. WAGGETT, M.A., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, St. John, Oxford.

THE AGE FO DECISION. *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

RELIGION AND SCIENCE: some Suggestions for the Study of the Relations between them. *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

[*Handbooks for the Clergy.*

Wakeford.—Works by the Rev. JOHN WAKEFORD, B.D., Vicar of St. Margaret, Anfield, Liverpool.

THE GLORY OF THE CROSS: a Brief Consideration of the Force, Effects, and Merits of Christ's Death and Passion. Sermons delivered in Liverpool Cathedral. *Crown 8vo.* *2s. 6d. net.*

INTO THE HOLY OF HOLIES THROUGH THE VAIL OF THE FLESH OF THE ETERNAL HIGH PRIEST, JESUS CHRIST: Prayers and Devotions for Private Use at Home and in Church. *18mo, cloth limp, 9d. net; cloth boards, 1s. net.*

Wirgman.—Works by A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of Grahamstown, and Vice-Provost of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

THE DOCTRINE OF CONFIRMATION. *Crown* 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Illustrated by the History and Canon Law of the Undivided Church from the Apostolic Age to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. *Crown* 8*vo*. 6*s*.

Wordsworth.—Works by CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., sometime Bishop of Lincoln.

THE HOLY BIBLE (the Old Testament). With Notes, Introductions, and Index. *Imperial* 8*vo*.

Vol. I. THE PENTATEUCH. 25*s*. Vol. II. JOSHUA TO SAMUEL. 15*s*. Vol. III. KINGS to ESTHER. 15*s*. Vol. IV. JOB TO SONG OF SOLOMON. 25*s*. Vol. V. ISAIAH TO EZEKIEL. 25*s*. Vol. VI. DANIEL, MINOR PROPHETS, and Index. 15*s*.

Also supplied in 13 *Parts. Sold separately.*

THE NEW TESTAMENT, in the Original Greek. With Notes, Introductions, and Indices. *Imperial* 8*vo*.

Vol. I. GOSPELS AND ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. 23*s*. Vol. II. EPISTLES, APOCALYPSE, and Indices. 37*s*.

Also supplied in 4 *Parts. Sold separately.*

CHURCH HISTORY TO A.D. 451. *Four Vols. Crown* 8*vo*.

Vol. I. TO THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, A.D. 325. 8*s*. 6*d*. Vol. II. FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA TO THAT OF CONSTANTINOPLE. 6*s*. Vol. III. CONTINUATION. 6*s*. Vol. IV. CONCLUSION, TO THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451. 6*s*.

THEOPHILUS ANGLICANUS: a Manual of Instruction on the Church and the Anglican Branch of it. 12*mo*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

ELEMENTS OF INSTRUCTION ON THE CHURCH. 16*mo*. 1*s*. *cloth*. 6*d*. *sewed*.

THE HOLY YEAR: Original Hymns. 16*mo*. 2*s*. 6*d*. *and* 1*s*. *Limp*, 6*d*.

,, ,, With Music. Edited by W. H. MONK. *Square* 8*vo*. 4*s*. 6*d*.

ON THE INTERMEDIATE STATE OF THE SOUL 32*mo*. 1*s*.

Wordsworth.—Works by JOHN WORDSWORTH, D.D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

THE MINISTRY OF GRACE: Studies in Early Church History, with reference to Present Problems. *Crown* 8*vo*. 6*s*. 6*d*. *net*.

THE HOLY COMMUNION: Four Addresses. 1891. *Cr*. 8*vo*. 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE ONE RELIGION: Truth, Holiness, and Peace desired by the Nations, and revealed by Jesus Christ. Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in 1881. *Crown* 8*vo*. 7*s*. 6*d*.

UNIVERSITY SERMONS ON GOSPEL SUBJECTS. *Sm*. 8*vo*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

PRAYERS FOR USE IN COLLEGE. 16*mo*. 1*s*.

10,000/4/04

Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty.